A COAL MINING COMMUNITY IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY SHROPSHIRE : FRONTIER SETTLEMENT OR CLOSE-KNIT COMMUNITY ?

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Wolverhampton for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

This work or any part thereof has not previously been presented in any form to the University or to any other body whether for the purposes of assessment, publication or for any other purpose (unless previously indicated). Save for any express acknowledgements, references and/or bibliographies cited in the work, I confirm that the intellectual content of the work is the result of my own efforts and of no other person.

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AUGUST 2000

ABSTRACT

The first aim of this thesis was to examine one community, Madeley, in 1891, in relation to two apparently contradictory stereotypes of late nineteenth-century mining communities, as either close-knit, or as loose-knit. The second aim was to develop a methodology to examine precisely the social characteristics of a late nineteenth-century community as a local social system.

An interdisciplinary approach was adopted, adapting social network analysis to a historical context. The research attempted to place equal value upon the experience of all members of the community, including the potentially marginalised, tracing individuals' social networks. The analysis focused upon persistence and kinship as key variables, before turning to both 'formal' and 'informal' social networks. A model was developed within which the composition, structure and content of networks could be analysed precisely, and the intensity of social activity assessed.

The thesis has shown that there was a high level of persistence within the area, but also a high level of mobility internally, with significant variations by occupation and age. There was a high level of potential support from kin, and evidence of strong support from older kin, but also of marginalisation, often of women. Associational life was not central to most individuals' networks, but they had the greatest social impact through the events that were the most inclusive. It has been shown that friendly societies may have been socially much more significant in late nineteenth-century mining communities that has hitherto been recognised, and that places of worship were a potential source of social division. Whilst there is some evidence of lack of porosity of social boundaries, there is also evidence of overlap of social networks, of co-operation and mutual help, with little antisocial behaviour. Whilst Madeley had characteristics of both a close- and loose-knit community, the thesis has shown that it could more accurately be described as the former in 1891.

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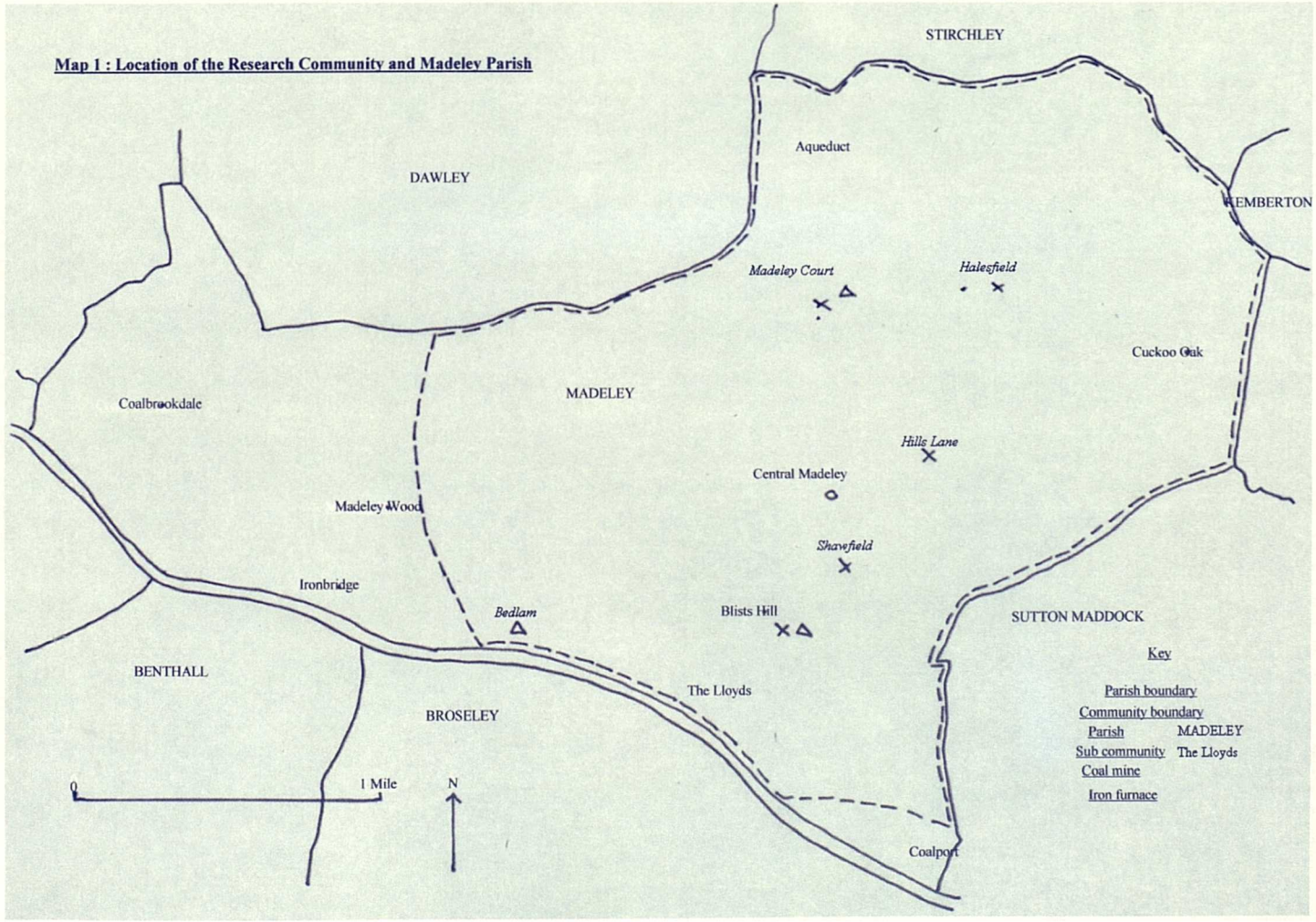

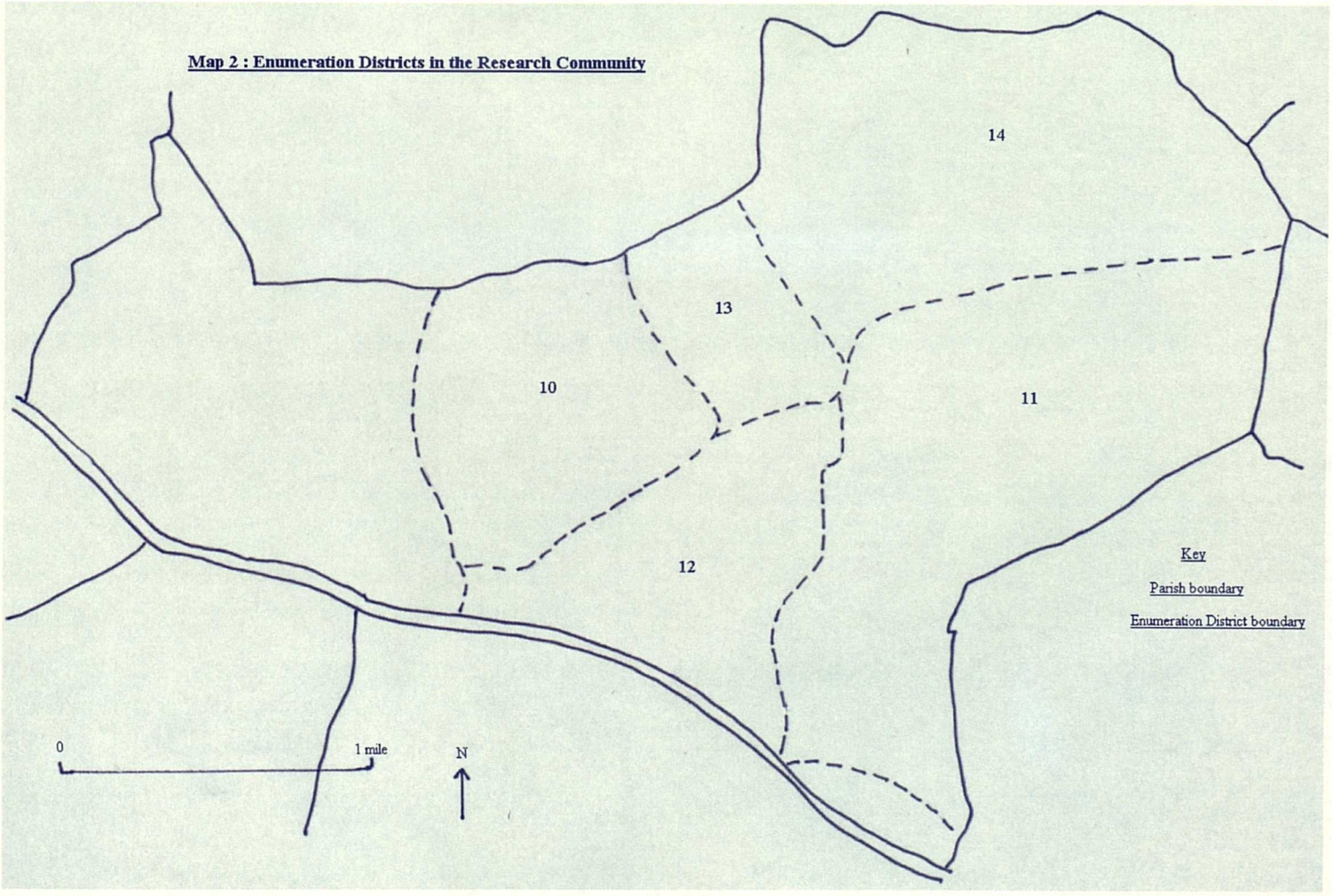
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Key
Parish boundary
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INTRODUCTION

The introduction will set out the aims of the research. More detailed consideration of definitions, and the approaches to be adopted will be dealt with in chapter two, having set these in context by an overview of the existing literature in chapter one.

The aims of this research are twofold, both of which, it is believed, break new ground. The first is to test the relative validity of two well documented, but apparently contradictory, stereotypes of nineteenth-century mining communities. According to one stereotype, individualism is a more dominating characteristic of social relationships than is co-operation. There is little evidence of a close-knit web of relationships between kin, neighbours or friends, there is little evidence of social co-operation, or that individuals value social relationships within the community, and the communities are likened to frontier settlements. Emery, for example, referring to mining settlements in late nineteenth-century Durham, asserts that, " *like any other frontier town* entrepreneurs soon began to appear, and supply the needs of the miner and his family ". (1) Similarly Trinder describes the typical mining village on the East Shropshire Coalfield as being, " inhospitable to strangers " and states that " such villages had all the characteristics of frontier societies and retained many of them throughout the 19th century ". (2)

Much better documented is the stereotype of nineteenth-century mining communities which emphasises the extent to which they were regarded as socially close-knit, with strong evidence of co-operation and solidarity. The people living within these communities have been described as " archetypal communitarians ", who took responsibility together for self improvement, and had a strong sense of dependence upon, and support for, each other. (3) The characteristics of this close-knit stereotype, sometimes referred to as the " archetypal mining community ", have been well summarised by Bulmer, " settlements based upon coal mining are

widely regarded as being strong in community feeling, community solidarity, community spirit, or in having a sense of community ". (4)

Clearly stereotypes present a simplistic view, and in reality the characteristics of the social relationships within a community change over time and place, and even within one place, or community. Church suggests that there may have been a transition from, " turbulent isolated frontier villages into settled more stable communities ". (5) Beynon and Austrin recognise that both positively and negatively perceived characteristics may exist within the same mining community, " it is possible to understand accounts of community life which stress intolerance *and* mutuality ". (6) Therefore this research will examine the extent to which either, both, or neither stereotypes are justified in relation to the research community within Madeley. (7) In view of the volume of research that relates to miners and mining communities, and of the prevalence of the stereotypes referred to above, it is surprising that this question has not been addressed more fully and directly to date.

The second aim of the research relates to methodology. In order to be able to identify the extent to which a late nineteenth-century mining community could be said to conform to either stereotype in terms of the characteristics of the social networks identified within that community, an appropriate methodology will be proposed and tested. Again, in view of the very substantial body of research that relates to nineteenth-century communities, and also to community studies, it is also surprising that such a methodology has not been generally adopted, or even widely examined. Much work has examined different aspects of social life, and social historians have increasingly paid attention to perceptions of social space in nineteenth-century communities. (8) Macfarlane proposed a more comprehensive methodology twenty years ago, which drew upon the work of sociologists and anthropologists, and adapted their findings for use in a historical context. (9)

However it is hard to find any attempt to develop a means to examine the characteristics of individual late nineeenth-century communities as local social systems, such that one can be directly compared to another. It is therefore believed that by doing so, this research will also break new ground. It will build upon Macfarlane's interdisciplinary approach, and on the basis of a broader definition of ' community ', a rigorous methodology that could be applied to any community of the period, will be developed in the context of one case study.

Notes and References

1. N. Emery, The Coalminers, p.162.
2. B. Trinder, The Industrial, pp. 199, 200.
3. D. Gilbert, " Imagined Communities, Mining Communities ", Labour History Review, 60/2, 1995.
4. M. Bulmer (ed.), Mining and Social Change, p. 5. R. Church, The History, p. 615 and D. Gilbert, op. cit., for example, both use the term " archetypal mining community ". N. Emery, The Coalminers, p.1, similarly describes late nineteenth-century mining communities as, " close-knit " , and as places where there was " a communal spirit ".
7. R. Church, The History, p. 626.
8. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters and Servants, p. 188.
9. The reasons for focusing upon one community, and upon Madeley in 1891 in particular, will be considered in chapter two, " The Approach of This Research ".
10. For example, see R. Pearson's innovative consideration of perceptions of community in nineteenth century Leeds : " Knowing One's Place : Perceptions of Community in the Industrial Suburbs of Leeds, 1790 - 1890 ", Journal of Social History, 27/2, 1993, or J.D. Marshall's use of parish registers to indicate social networks, and perceptions of communities : " Communities, Societies, Regions and Local History. Perceptions of Community in High and Low Furness ", The Local Historian, 26/1, 1996.
11. A. Macfarlane, " History. Anthropology and the Study of Communities ", Social History, 2/5, 1977.

PART 1 : ACADEMIC APPROACHES TO THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY

Part one will be presented in two chapters. The first will provide an overview of literature relating to the concept of community, and will place the approach of this research in context. The first section of this chapter will broadly trace the development of thought and research relating to the concept of community across the social science disciplines, and the second will examine the key concepts and definitions that have been applied to date.

Chapter two will describe and justify the definition of ' community ' and ' mining community ' to be taken in this research, the methodology to be adopted in the light of previous work, and will discuss the principal primary sources which will constitute the basis of the analysis.

CHAPTER 1 : APPROACHES TO DATE

1. The interdisciplinary development of community studies

Community , in terms of a number of people co-operating together, with a common aim, or aims, in view, has existed both as an idea, and in reality, as long as mankind has hunted or cultivated in groups. It has existed almost as long as a political reality - as a conscious organisation of people into co-operative groups. Debates advocating co-operation as opposed to individualism, liberalism and libertarianism, central to an interest in community, have continued unabated from the work of Locke in the thirteenth century, to John Donne's assertion in 1624 that, " No man is an Island, entire in itself; every man is a piece of a Continent, a part of the main ", to late twentieth century rebuttals of Margaret Thatcher's assertion that, " there is no such thing as society, only individuals and government ". (1) Perhaps the most influential and powerful arguments at the close of the twentieth century have been those of Etzioni, whose case for communitarianism have been largely accepted and incorporated into policy in the United States and Britain. (2)

This research rests upon the premise that communities do, and did, exist. It also focuses upon the extent to which a community could be described as close-knit, and characterised by co-operation, or loose-knit, and characterised by individualism. The philosophical debates referred to above are therefore central.

The concept of community has also been a prime concern of sociologists. Tonnies' work published in 1887 remains a key reference point of sociological work a century and more later, and also in the practice of community development. (3) Tonnies identified two groups of communities which he termed ' Gemeinschaft ' and

' Gesellschaft '. The former were communities based upon kinship, co-operation and affection, and regarded as the ' traditional ' rural communities which were being lost as an increasing proportion of the rural population migrated to the growing towns and cities, where communities based upon individualism and cold association had developed - the Gesellschaft communities. (4)

The close-knit mining community, if characterised by strong kinship links, and co-operation in the neighbourhood and at work, could be taken as a reassertion of Gemeinschaft in an urban context, whereas the loose-knit mining community equates with the polar opposite, Gesellschaft. Indeed Bulmer, in his influential work identifying characteristics of mining communities, makes direct parallels between them and gemeinschaftlich communities referring, for example, to, " the social relations of Gemeinschaft which .....characterise mining communities ". (5)

From the late nineteenth century, anthropologists such as Malinowski took account of Tonnies' work in their studies of relatively isolated and self contained communities. Their contribution to the development of thought on community studies gave validity to the study of social interaction and communities as a sphere of academic study. They demonstrated the value of the detailed and holistic case study approach as a means of revealing common patterns, for example laws of behaviour common to most communities, and they provided an understanding of social structures within communities in terms of their functions. (6)

Although the anthropologist's methodological approach has been, and is, one of ' ritual immersion ', in other words living within a community as a participant, whilst also observing as an outsider, it does relate to this research in two important ways. (7) In the first instance, it is an approach that has been adopted by sociologists, and has

led to the most comprehensive attempt to understand the social functioning of a mining community, albeit in the twentieth century (that of Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter). Furthermore, as Macfarlane has argued forcefully, the social historian with an interest in community has much to gain from looking more closely at the work of social anthropologists, especially in terms of the value that has been demonstrated of a holistic approach to understanding the social processes within one locality-based community. Noting that, " social anthropologists emphasise the ' total ' approach, " he argues that, " to concentrate on one aspect, whether it be economics, politics, kinship, ritual or anything else is impoverishing. In fact, such concentration is self-defeating, since we cannot understand any one of these supposed ' institutions ' without understanding the rest ". (8)

Contemporaneous with the work of anthropologists relating to individual communities in the first half of the twentieth century, American sociologists were developing theories to explain the spatial distribution of communities, or different areas of housing, within cities, introducing concepts of social segregation. (9) Their work brought the focus of community studies more directly into an urban setting, incorporated a dynamic element, and introduced a theoretical, model-based approach. These ideas were developed and adapted both by geographers and by social historians, such as Dennis and Pooley, for example, who examined social areas within Victorian cities in England and Wales. (10) Their work brought attention back to Tonnies' ideas on the loss of stability, kinship and neighbourhood networks and ' community ' accompanying urbanisation. It also introduced more systematic attention to persistence, or the extent to which members of a community remained living in the same locality - a key factor affecting the development of social links.

The importance of locality and space in community studies, particularly in an urban context was further stimulated by the demands of urban planning, and the postwar planning process. As many of Britain's cities were redeveloped, and New Towns built, the optimum distribution of housing types and associated services were designed in an attempt at social engineering and to recreate the ' traditional ' or gemeinschaft communities that was thought to have been lost, or relocated by the demolition of inner city terraced housing, a strand of thought that still persists. (11)

However, although community studies that relied heavily on anthropological approaches had been commonly undertaken by sociologists from the 1940's, by the 1960's the latter were critical of the concept and study of community on a number of counts. Some raised doubts whether the ' traditional ' gemeinschaft type of community did, or ever had, existed. In addition there was a recognition that in many societies social links with others outside the locality were as important, if not more so, as those with neighbours. Pahl expressed a characteristic view, " to tie patterns of social relationships to a particular geographical milieu is a singularly fruitless exercise ". (12) Furthermore, as a result of the great interest that had been shown in community studies, it became clear how broadly the word ' community ' was, and is, interpreted which likewise turned sociologists' attention away in despair. Stacey suggested that sociologists should avoid using the term altogether, because of the problems of definition, and lack of clarity as to whether locality was implied by the word or not. As Day and Murdoch note, " community was generally agreed to be a confused and chaotic concept ", and Taylor dismissed the term as a piece of " sentimental Hoggartry ". Community studies were accused of being too descriptive and subjective, with insufficient analysis, making valid comparison or generalisation difficult. (13)

In its place, sociologists such as Mitchell, Bott and Boissevain turned from the mid 1950's onwards to the technique of social network analysis, which provided a means of analysing social structures defined by the social links of individuals, regardless of spatial boundaries, or of the quality of social interaction, on which the categorisation of gemeinschaft or gesellschaft were based. The approach therefore circumvented the criticism of community studies that pointed to the ' loss of community ', in other words ' traditional ' gemeinschaft communities. Whilst this research reasserts the validity and importance of locality based communities, the social network approach does provide a valuable framework for the rigorous analysis of social structures, that can be adapted within a historical context, which will be discussed further in chapter two. (14)

Despite the great scepticism relating to the definition of the term ' community ' , and the usefulness of community studies that had developed amogst sociologists, an interest in the concept was not long absent. By 1973 Clark noted, " if the concept of community is dead, it stubbornly refuses to lie down ". (15) In 1985 Bulmer suggested that community studies had been rejuvenated, and still eight years later, Pearson noted that, " a growing number of historians ... have placed ' community ' at the center of their inquiries ". (16) Similarly Bourke notes that, " modern social historians have been loathe to give up the concept ", particularly, she suggests, because a locality based community, or neighbourhood, could be equated to class, drawing on ideas of gemeinschaftlich urban working class communities, and the perceived persistence within them. (17)

Both sociologists and geographers have reasserted the importance of the spatial dimension, and the relevance of locality based community studies. In 1995 Driver and Samuel asserted that, " a new history of place is as necessary today as it ever

was." (18) Massey too clearly presents an obvious, but understated, fact - that, " just as there are no purely spatial processes, neither are there any non-spatial social processes," and that, " places ... are always constructed out of articulations of social relations. " (19)

The 1990's have seen an explosion of interest in community across the disciplines and professions, at the centre of which was Etzioni's development of the concept of communitarianism. He describes the communitarian movement having at its centre a " commitment to the community " which he suggests must be implemented , " through the social webs that communities provide ". (20) He therefore reasserts the importance of the concept of community itself in locality terms, and of relating it to social webs, or the social network approach. The links between sociological, political and economic thought have also been recognised in relation to mining communities in a historical context, " community is not something which can be bolted-on once the economy thrives, but consists of relationships which are integral to that economy ". (21)

This is not to say that the concepts of community, or communitarianism, are without their critics, and the arguments still focus around problems of precision and definition. Holmes claims that, " nebulousness ...is not an incidental feature of communitariansim, moreover; it is an essential one ", and that the word ' community ' has an almost mystic significance. " When we hear it, all our critical faculties are supposed to fall asleep ..... ' community ' is used as an anaesthetic, an amnesiac, an aphrodisiac ". (22)

Nevertheless, this research will use and develop concepts of, and methodologies relating to, community from all the disciplines referred to above, and will reassert the

importance of space, and of focusing upon both individuals, and individual communities.

2. Concepts and definitions of ' community '

If anyone had the time and patience to count the number of different definitions that had been used of the word ' community ' since Hillery, in 1955 identified 94, there is no doubt that they would have found many times more. More recent writers on the subject have understandably been wary of adopting a single definition. Davies and Herbert suggest that, " community is best considered as a collective noun that stands for a variety of related, overlapping ideas ". (23) Others have preferred to think of ' community ' as a process, or as a method of collecting data. (24) Most have grouped the definitions used by others into a more manageable number of categories (usually three to five) . Here three sets of concepts and definitions relating to ' community ' will be considered, and it will be argued that elements of each are integral to most definitions of the word, and are also integral to an understanding of nineteenth-century communities :

(i) locality and a ' sense of place ',

(ii) sentiment - community spirit, solidarity, fraternity, a sense of community, altruism, shared values, neighbourliness are words and phrases often used in this context,

(iii) association - participation, communities of interest, social action all apply to this category.

(i) Locality

Locality was at the core of Tonnies' identification of gemeinschaft communities, and as outlined above, there has been a renewed recognition of the importance of the

dimension of space summarised, for example, by Soja, " in the 1980's, the hoary traditions of a space-blinkered historicism are being challenged with unprecedented explicitness by convergent calls for a far-reaching spatialisation of the critical imagination ". (25)

In terms of community centred research, however, there are more specific reasons to incorporate locality in the definition of community than simply to reassert the significance of place, for the understanding of historical processes.
An initial justification is that a ' sense of place ' forms part of every individual's every day experience. If we are to attempt to put community studies in the context of the perceptions of those who formed part of that community, locality cannot be ignored. As Day and Murdoch claim, " people's location within particular places tended to be an important part of their lived experience ". (26) Warwick and Littlejohn, in their work on the mining community of Ashton, take it as read that locality strengthens social bonding. (27) An awareness of locality by members of a community can be identified not only in contemporary social studies, but also in the past as shown by Pearson, for example, in nineteenth-century Leeds. (28) It is undeniable that especially in the nineteenth century and earlier, distance acted as a considerable friction to movement, and that most people necessarily spent most of their lives within walking distance of home. This is not to say that people did or did not live in ' gemeinschaft ' type communities, or that ' home ' stayed at the same location for any period of time - there is considerable evidence to show that the poor in particular moved frequently. (29) But it does mean that the immediate locality to home at any one time was likely to have been a significant factor in the social relationships that people could, and did make.

Secondly, by adopting a locality based approach it is possible, " by stressing the interrelationships between different features or elements in a settlement to show horizontal linkages, rather than vertical associations with the larger society ". (30) Thus, rather than look separately, in a wider context, at individual criteria which impinge upon the characteristics of social relationships within a locality, such as kinship, migration patterns, patterns of crime, the relationship between these criteria can be examined as a whole within a locality based community study, the approach pioneered by anthropologists, and adopted by many sociologists.

Thirdly, through studies of social relationships in a locality it is possible to gain insights into the effect of national or global policies or events in the small scale, or to identify the influence of the global upon local ' identities of place ' and individuals' experience of them. (31) Massey also emphasises the importance of local - global links, " places, then, can be understood as articulations of social relationships some of which will be to the beyond (the global), and these global relationships as much as the internal relationships of an area will influence its character, its ' identity ' ". (32) Thus having deconstructed social processes to the most local level, it is only by reconstructing them that the whole can be better understood. Furthermore, it is only by including consideration of the nature of, and porosity of, the boundaries of locality based communities, that the social relationships within that community can be understood fully. (33)

It is the relationship to the global which brings us to possibly the most important justification for including the local in community studies, and that is relevance for the future. Whilst this research deals with a nineteenth-century mining community, in the view of the writer, the approach taken will have little value if it does not have future relevance. Robinson, referring to a range of work relating to Community

Development, concludes, " all of these authors foresee a global future which de-emphasises the state and formal contractual relationships between the state and individuals, and promotes community self-reliance, inter-community information networks, freely committed volunteerism and a people-centred vision of development ". (34) Etzioni's Communitarian vision of the futures, that has received such widespread support, also calls for " restored communities ". (35)

It is necessary also to respond to the main criticism that has been levelled at the inclusion of locality in community studies. That is the recognition that gemeinschaft, locally based, ' traditional ' stable communities probably are rare, and there is an increasing body of evidence to suggest that they may have only rarely existed in the past. But this does not mean that people who live within a given locality do, or did not have social relationships. As Nicholson has stated, " communities started to happen, and continued to happen, from the moment people entered that shared local space; sometimes they assumed a stronger sense of cohesion than at other times, but this ebb and flow in size and strength did not mean that they moved in and out of some mythical state of grace called ' community ', rather like football teams might be promoted and relegated between higher and lower divisions ". (36)

Yet it is surprising how common is the view that the social relationships between people in a locality have to attain a particular intensity or quality before ' community ' can be said to exist, otherwise those unfortunate people only live in a ' settlement '. This could be termed a ' binary ' approach to community studies. To give just two examples, Clark suggests that two essential components of community are, " solidarity and *significance* ". (37) Day and Murdoch see people in a locality operating within different social, political and economic networks. " It is where they meet - in particular

social practices and institutional sites - that the processes of interaction give rise to *specific notions of* community and locality ". (38)

Rather than reject the concept of community altogether because ' traditional ' locality based communities are thought to be rare, and furthermore to reject the concept because the perceived quality of the social relationships within a given area do not appear to match those described by Tonnies as gemeinschaft, this research will adopt Warwick and Littlejohn's definition of communities as, " human groups which share a common space ". (39) It will identify the ways in which these people interact socially and attempt to find explanations for these differences.

(ii) Sentiment

Within this category is a range of concepts that overlap and interrelate, and that almost always have positive connotations. It is perhaps for this reason that it is this group of concepts that have remained at the core of definitions of community. As far as this writer is aware, there are no instances of an argument being made against the inclusion of at least one of these concepts whilst advocating for the necessity of considering ' community ' as a whole. On the other hand, a number have called for the rejection of concepts of locality, and some for the exclusion of concepts of association, in community studies. It is also perhaps partly a result of the emotional appeal of these concepts that it has proved so difficult to find a methodology for studying community relationships that receives widespread acceptance, especially for social historians. Nevertheless, unless social relationships in a historical context are to be ignored, an attempt must be made.

There is a range of concepts frequently used in the context of sentimental feelings associated with ' community '. One is a ' sense of belonging '. This may refer to belonging to a particular group of people, who may or may not live in the same locality. Those writers who have rejected the inclusion of locality in community studies instead link ' community ' to ideas of solidarity, and to groups of people with shared interests or aims. More often a ' sense of belonging ' does include a spatial element, and is used to describe so-called ' traditional ' or gemeinschaft communities, where the members of the community are said to have a strong sense of belonging, because they, and their extended families, having lived in a particular locality for several generations, have built up wide ranging social relationships. (40)

Altruism, reciprocation or neighbourliness are often cited as prerequisites for ' community '. These terms relate to the quality of social relationships. Rousseau defines ' community ' *as* altruism. (41) Abrams suggests that social care is, and was, given more often on a reciprocal, rather than an altruistic basis, and occurred most between neighbours where, " information and trust are high and where resources for satisfying needs are low ", in other words where life is or was hard. (42) It is the sense that those living near one can be relied upon to help at any time, either altruistically or reciprocally that has contributed to individual positive perceptions of communities, and it is the individual perceptions of the members of a community towards one another that is at the centre of this aspect of the understanding of the word ' community '.

Close-knit is, perhaps, the term most frequently used to describe communities, and is often linked to concepts related to ' a sense of belonging '. For example, Lee and Newby describe communities that are thought to have been lost through inner city redevelopment as having, " a strong sense of shared occupational experience,

distinctive local subcultures, overlapping loyalties between workplace and neighbourhood, and the closely knit cliques of friends, workmates, neighbours and kin which many of its inhabitants understand ' community ' to mean ". (43) The term ' close-knit ' carries with it the inference that the community is characterised by a dense web of social relationships within a particular location, and it is also often inferred that these relationships are perceived positively by the members of the community.

In Kingdom's view, " fraternity lies at the heart of the concept of community ". (44) In the context of community the word ' fraternity ' carries with it an understanding of mutual obligation, concern and care, and a sense of shared experience and purpose, and again is almost invariably viewed as a positive attribute.

For those who have witnessed even the reporting of miners' strikes, or the achievements of Solidarnosc in Poland, it is difficult to dissociate the word ' solidarity ' from a particular kind of mass political protest or action, which has more often been related to a cause than necessarily to a locality. Nevertheless, it has often been suggested that any settlement worthy of the name ' community ' should display ' solidarity ', in terms of a group of people working together towards a shared objective. Scherer states, "communities are *defined* in terms of the solidarity shared by their members which forms the basis of their mutual orientation to social action." (45) Like ' fraternity ', ' close-knit ', and ' altruism ', the word usually has a positive connotation, based upon agreement, sharing and co-operation, even though, as Holmes points out, such sharing of objectives can be profoundly repugnant, such as the objective of racial purity. (46)

Solidarity is also sometimes used to mean social cohesion, or the sense of belonging to a group. It is in this sense that Clark uses the word when he claims that,

" solidarity is by far the most commonly accepted ingredient of community ", and furthermore that solidarity is an essential element of community. (47)

Finally, ' community spirit ' or a ' sense of community ' are terms which may be used in the context of a group of people working together towards the same goals - in other words, in give the meaning more commonly attributed to ' solidarity '. It must be assumed that this meaning was intended by Lee and Newby in their suggestion that a sense of community is only experienced, " generally over very limited issues, of limited duration ". (48)

The notion is sometimes linked to shared experience in the face of adversity. It is in this sense that Davies and Herbert specifically link these ideas to territorially defined communities, and particularly to isolated mining towns and fishing villages as occupational communities, where they claim that, " the similarity of isolation and occupation often led to much local interaction, and a social solidarity that was best seen in co-operative behaviour in the face of common deprivation and daily danger in the workplace. The result was a strong and frequently reinforced sense of community ". (49)

It has been shown that the phrases and ideas outlined above are almost invariably used as part of the definition of ' community ', and are presented as positive attributes. They are related to the ' binary ' view of communities - the idea that once social relationships reach a certain quality and quantity, then the illusory state of ' community ' can be said to have been been achieved. Hence the more positively perceived the relationships, and the greater their number for each individual, the more of a community it is, and the closer to the ideal ' gemeinschaft ' type. As Lee and

Newby note, " sociologists have tended to regard ' community ' as an unmitigated Good Thing ". (50)

However, many writers have alluded to variations in the kinds of relationships that will exist within any community, whilst accepting the basic premise that ' Communities are Good '. For example, Frankenberg's working definition of community is, " an area of social living marked by *some* degree of social coherence ". (51) Likewise Clark suggests that, " the strength of community within any given group is determined by the *degree to which* its members experience both a sense of solidarity and a sense of significance within it ". (52) Explicit in this statement is the recognition of variations of individual experiences and perceptions. Implicit is the idea that there is *no* community unless there is some positive feeling of solidarity and significance.

More recently, other writers have observed that negative perceptions of social relationships within communities are, and were, shared by many. Davies and Herbert note that, " not all share an intrinsically positive attitude towards community. Life in many communities frequently entails the loss of personal freedom because of persuasive intrusiveness and adherence to group mores ", and suggest that the reality of most historic rural communities was one of, " internal rivalries, frequent back-biting and a persuasive intrusiveness ". (53) Nicholson also states the obvious - that communities are not "conflict-free zones ". (54)

The recognition that many within the community did not feel a sense of belonging, or neighbourliness, for example, has led some, such as Bourke, to doubt the usefulness or reality of the concept of community at all, in considering nineteenth-century working class ' cultures '. Her view that, " a problem with the concept of ' community ' based on

reciprocal rights and obligations is the need for its members to share a set of of moral values. It is doubtful whether any consensus existed ". (55)

It is argued here that to make the assumption that ' community ' does have to be defined on the basis of a uniformly positive view of interpersonal relationships is to make the same mistake as those who rejected the use of the term ' community ' because in the twentieth century people's social networks are widely spread, and not confined to a particular locality. It would be erroneous to say that because modern communities do not conform entirely to Tonnies' gemeinschaft ideal type, characterised by positively viewed and co-operative relationships, then the entire concept of community should be rejected. It is because of the extraordinary endurance of Tonnies' ideas, and because of the mistaken view that a model, or ideal type is useless if reality does not normally conform to it, that communities continued to be viewed only in a positive light.

It is argued here that any consideration of a community should include consideration not only of positively perceived attributes, but also *negatively* perceived social characteristics, *along a continuum.* Thus a community may be described as being high in the proportion of people who behave primarily in their own interest, rather than co-operatively, for example, or in which there is little evidence of mutual aid, or a great deal. Thus a complete picture of this local social system can be aimed for, rather than a picture almost exclusively weighted in one direction, and a picture that recognises the complexity of social relationships within a locality - relationships that can be perceived both positively and negatively by different individuals, or even one individual at different times. This approach also avoids the problem so generally skimmed over, and always arising in the ' binary ' approach - " when is a community not a community ? "

It has also been argued here that these concepts of community related to sentiment, which are at the core of any definition, are themselves rooted in *individuals'* perceptions of social relationships. As Clark notes, " any perceptive study of community, therefore, must take into account not only the usual pattern of social behaviour as it appears outwardly, but the attitudes of people towards the normative order as a whole ". (56) It therefore follows that whilst the most difficult data to assess, it is crucial that any evidence that gives an insight in this direction must be central to any study of community. It will then follow that if all individuals within the community are given equal weight and status, that female perceptions of communities will be given equal attention to the perception of men, the elderly or young to the middle aged, and lodgers and servants to those living in family units, hence providing a recentred view of communities.

In addition, therefore, to the inclusion of a defined locality in community studies, it is argued that attention must be given to the characteristics of the social relationships within that locality, and how these are perceived by the individual members of the community, defining ' community ' as a ' local social system '. (57)

(iii) Association

It will be argued that association is an essential part of the study of a community because associations are forums for social interaction, and therefore constitute part of the local social system. Nevertheless, it will be argued that it follows from a definition of communities as local social systems that the presence of associations is not a prerequisite for a community to exist. It will be argued that associations within a

community may be the expression of positively perceived social relationships, or may result in such, but that neither are inevitable.

It is important to be clear what is meant by ' association '. An association is taken to mean a formally constituted group that meets regularly for a purpose that is not primarily social, but within which social relationships inevitably develop. Examples of associations include sports clubs, meetings centred upon places of worship, or friendly societies, or in a late twentieth-century context, residential associations. Clearly these were and are some of the situations in which people could and can meet locally - the, " shared spaces - the localities - in which the experience of community happened ". (58) They constituted some of the overlapping social spaces present within any locality, and were therefore a significant part of the local social system.

On the other hand, local social systems clearly exist as soon as a group of people share an area to live, whether associations exist, or are formed there or not. It would therefore be illogical to propose another variety of the binary approach to community studies - to propose that a community does not exist if there are no associations present. The definition of community to be used in this research does not therefore require that associations exist, any more than positive feelings, or the ' sense of community ' described above, but it does require that both phenomena be examined as part of the study of the positive and negative perceptions of the local social system.

It is often assumed that the existence of associations in a locality indicate positive perceptions of the community - a wish to associate socially with each other, and perhaps also to work together towards a common goal. Kingdom, referring to community institutions, suggests that, " it is in the latter (institutions) that we see the tangible expression of community values and their protection ". (59) This may be the

case, but not necessarily so. It is equally possible that people support an association *despite* the others who attend. Their prime purpose may be the enjoyment of the sport, to worship or to avail themselves of the benefits of a friendly society, for example. Likewise, once established, associations may promote, or prove a deterrent to, close social relationships, although it is the former that is usually assumed. Kingdom implies this when referring to participation in local government, " there is no more ingenious institution within the state for creating a real sense of community than democratic local government; it alone permits ordinary people to be involved in decision making ". (60) In addition, as the mere existence of associations can be taken to indicate a ' sense of community ', little attention is given to which members of the community, in what proportion of the total, are affected by the influence of associations on their social relationships. It is important, therefore, not to assume that associations either result from, or result in, positive experiences of community, or that they have a dominating effect upon the social relationships within a locality.

Associations certainly cannot, and could not, provide all of an individual's social needs, even if they do meet some of them. As Davies and Herbert assert, " a world full of associations is not enough to solve the Angst of modern or postmodern life. The problem seems to be that most contemporary associations are only partial ones, related to the specific prose of the interest group or the service provided. As such they fail to provide the emotional identity and unconditional support that seems so desirable to many who espouse the community ideal ". (61) Not only may associations not meet all social needs, but they may result in social division. Associations within a community could be viewed as distinctive ' subcommunities ', whose identity, " is based upon differentiation from others ". (62)

Such ' subcommunities ' could indicate competition, and social divisions within the community, but a closer examination of their interrelationship may, in fact, reveal a high degree of co-operation, and a high degree of overlap of their membership. Massey questions the need to view such groups negatively , " must it necessarily be a differentiation which takes the form of opposition, of drawing a hard boundary between ' us ' and ' them ', in other words the geography of rejection ? " She advocates a ' geography of acceptance ', in which boundaries between communities (or subcommunities) are more open and ' porous '. (63) It is therefore argued for the purposes of this research, that an essential part of examining the extent to which a community could be described as close-knit or loose-knit is a consideration of the extent to which membership of community associations overlapped, and the extent to which they co-operated with each other, rather than simply assuming that the greater the evidence of widespread association membership, the more, or better, 'community' there was.

Conclusion

It is therefore argued that a multidisciplinary approach, drawing in particular on the work of sociologists, anthropologists and geographers in addition to historians, is likely to yield greater insights into the concept of ' community ' than a reliance upon the methodology and body of knowledge of a single discipline.

It is also argued that a ' community ' should be defined as a local social system, incorporating notions of locality, sentiment and association. Social relationships within a locality are significant to individuals' experiences, whilst it is recognised that in any locality individuals will also have social networks outside the community in question. Social relationships within a locality permit a holistic approach, and consideration of

influences on the social system both within, and outside the community. Notions of sentiment, it is argued, are central to most definitions of community, and are at the core of individuals' perceptions of their own community. It is argued that to arrive at as balanced a view as possible of a local social system, it is vital to include both positively and negatively perceived views of relationships, rather than assume that ' community ' did not exist if those perceptions overall appear more negative. And it is argued that although associations have often been considered an essential ingredient of a community, they are an important factor, as catalysts for social interaction, but not necessary. And an important aspect of associational life is the extent to which those associations were a divisive, or a unifying influence.

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CHAPTER 2 : THE APPROACH OF THIS RESEARCH

1. Definitions

(i) Community

In chapter one it has been shown that most definitions of the word ' community ' include concepts of locality, sentiment and association. It has been argued that concepts of locality are central to a consideration of community for a number of reasons, but most importantly because a sense of place is part of every individual's daily experience. Thus research which values the individual cannot exclude locality from the definition of community to be adopted. It has similarly been argued that concepts of sentiment, in other words individuals' perceptions of the nature of their social relationships, whether 'positive' or 'negative', are essential components of an understanding of the social relationships within a community. And finally it has been argued that attention must be given to formal associations within communities, although these by no means comprise the totality of social relationships.

In this research, then, the study of a community will be taken to mean *the study of the social relationships between all individuals living within a given locality.* Social relationships will be taken to include both their structure, and the ways in which they were perceived by members of the community themselves. They will be considered within, and outside, the context of associations.

(ii) Mining community

It is surprising how frequently the term ' mining community ' is used without definition, or further clarification. It appears that Bulmer's idealised model of a

mining community has been so influential that little further explanation is needed. His model identified a number of characteristics of such an occupational community. They include social criteria, such as miners who work together, also choosing to spend non work time together, as well as physical characteristics of the settlement, such as isolation. Whilst he is not categoric, Bulmer suggests that in a typical mining settlement seven tenths of the adult male population are likely to be miners. (1) He seems to have in mind settlements where mining is not only the dominant, but almost the only, occupation for men. This stereotype of a mining community is one noted and commented on by many writers, such as Church, who points to other characteristics, such as the ' family pit '. (2)

Haines was more precise in his definition - a mining community was one in which 10% of the adult working population was engaged in mining. Whilst this definition is unambiguous, and does not exclude women or lodgers, it is broad enough to be able to encompass communities that may have had much higher proportions of the adult working population engaged in other occupations. (3)
Billington's definition, of a mining settlement being one in which 20% of heads of household give their occupation as miner, is subject to the same difficulty, and moreover excludes lodgers, children living with parents and women. (4) These definitions seem to provide no clear rationale for the percentages that have been chosen, or, in the cases of Billington and Bulmer, for the exclusion of some sectors of the population from the definitions given. None state clearly the definition of a miner.

The definition of a mining community to be adopted in this research is simply a community dominated by the occupation of mining. ' Dominated by mining ' is taken to mean that the largest group of the total population in full time paid employment is occupied in the mining industry, to include the mining of any mineral, on the surface or underground. This definition is relatively clear, precise

and inclusive. It is neither too restrictive nor too broad. If it were to require the overall majority in paid employment to be miners, then relatively few communities would be included, restricting the comparisons that could be made. On the other hand, if the aim of taking an all-inclusive approach to the research is taken literally, then account would be taken of all the unpaid work, most especially the domestic work of women. It would most probably follow that most communities were occupational in a different sense - being ' domestic work communities '. If assumptions have to be made about unrecorded unpaid work, perhaps it is more realistic to assume that that work contributes to the paid employment of others in the household. Thus although the definition as stated only explicitly refers to the paid employment of miners and others, it can nevertheless take account of the contribution of unpaid domestic work.

Even this seemingly straightforward definition poses further difficulties related to the use of the census as a major source, which will be discussed further below.

2. Principles

As stated in chapter one, this research will be *inclusive*, and based upon the premise that all members of the community are of equal importance, since it has been argued that sentiment, and individuals' perceptions of social relationships in their own community are central to an understanding of a locality based community. The literature on nineteenth-century mining communities has overwhelmingly concentrated upon male miners, and their social activities. This has been due partly to the interest in the influence of the occupation of mining on the likelihood of taking strike action, and partly due to the nature of the data available, especially the census. However, such difficulties are not insuperable, as shown by the work of John, Mills, and Walker. (5) Beynon and Austrin also

devote considerable attention to women in mining communities, although since most of their evidence is oral, it hardly reaches back into the nineteenth century.(6) This research will attempt to refocus the gender balance in research concerning nineteenth-century communities.

Gilbert suggests that, " work on women's experiences in mining communities has come closest to producing decentred or recentred histories of mining communities ". (7) Whilst this may be true, this research will neither emphasise, or be solely concerned with, the contribution of women to the communities, which runs the risk of ' ghettoising ' the place of women in society. (8) Neither will it make the assumption that women played a stronger role than men in social relationships within mining communities, because their social links were stronger with neighbours than were those of men with workmates, or because it is assumed that they maintained stronger links with kin, " the central role of women in the making and sustaining of families, households, kinship networks and communities can hardly be over-emphasised ". (9) This research will attempt to give equal attention to the social relationships of men and women, and not to value some relationships above others.

Whilst the need to include women's experiences of mining communities has been noted, little, if any, attention has been given to the social experiences of other groups within the community, such as the elderly, children, lodgers, servants or those temporarily absent. Gilbert has argued for their inclusion, especially in the context of mining communities, " histories .... which give greater voice to the absent, less powerful and marginalised ", but to date his challenge has received little attention. (10) It has been argued that it is only by defining a community in terms of a locality is it possible to arrive at a holistic view of social relationships. To do so, and to incorporate every individual, therefore, attention must be given to *all* members of the community, regardless of age, gender, occupational or marital

status, even though inevitably some conclusions will be more authoritative than others, where more data is available. However social inclusion is central to the approach taken by this research. It is taken that this is more justifiable than to ignore some sections of the community because only a relatively small amount of data are available. Every attempt will be made to minimise the situation that Samuel has drawn attention to - that available sources control the history that is written. (11)

A second principle of this research is that it is recognised that every community is *unique* - its history of place is one that recognises that, " what has come together, in this place, now, is a conjunction of many histories and many spaces ", and this holds for any point in time. (12) This undeniable fact has been noted in the particular context of mining communities, " each mine and mining community had its own unique character ". (13)

The research community, within the parish of Madeley, has been chosen merely as *an* example of a mining community, not because it is thought to have been typical of mining communities in any way. In fact it differs in a number of respects from any stereotype of a mining community, having become established as a mining community long before the nineteenth century, comprising several ' subcommunities ', and in which several important economic activities other than mining developed. The individualised approach, and detailed use of census data required just one sample community to be selected. A community had to be chosen for which the data were accessible. Madeley is relatively well documented as a mining community, and appeared to have potentially characteristics of both close-knit and loose-knit communities. The outcome of the research was therefore not a foregone conclusion, and the community could provide a good test of the methodology. Furthermore, Madeley was a mining community clearly in decline in the late nineteenth century. If ' community ' has not received the historical attention

that it deserves (14), and there is an absence of empirical evidence relating to mining communities (15), still less has any attention been paid to mining communities in decline. (16) Hence all the greater the potential interest of choosing such a community.

This research also focuses upon the community in one year - 1891 - not because the year is thought to represent a ' typical ' state in any way. To achieve focus, concentrating upon individuals and interrelationships within one locality, just one year had to be taken. (17) Again the data - especially the prime source, the census, had to be available. Furthermore, it is recognised that however many years were to be included in the data, it would not bring us any closer to the ' essential character ' of the community. Massey captures the point when she notes that, " identity (of a place) is always, and always has been, in the process of formation : it is in a sense forever unachieved ", and this is inevitable because, " the social relationships of which they (communities) are made are dynamic ". (18)

It is argued that analysis of social relationships in one community alone itself adds to our understanding, and set into the context of more research that follows the same approach, a broader understanding of late nineteenth-century mining communities can be reached. As Crow and Allan claim for their book in which they draw upon many different studies, " we have been able to show that it is possible for community studies to build on one another ". (19) Criticisms that such studies of individual communities are non-comparable and non-cumulative are not accepted. (20)

To develop our understanding of the social relationships within late nineteenth-century mining communities therefore, and to identify those local-global links referred to by Massey, it is necessary to adopt one of two possible approaches. The first is to propose an idealised model of a late nineteenth-century community,

in which the hypothetical common characteristics are identified, against which actual communities can be measured, as adopted by Haines, and Bulmer, for example. (21) The second is to propose a wide ranging *methodology* for research, which will encompass the principal characteristics of individual communities, as has been proposed by Macfarlane. (22) Whilst the former approach has stimulated a body of research that has yielded valuable insights, it has the disadvantage of being misinterpreted as a stereotype, and it takes a necessarily more restrictive view than the latter. The model can only propose a limited number of quantifiable criteria against which reality can be measured. This research will therefore aim to adopt the latter approach, which puts more emphasis upon the unique character of each community, whilst enabling common characteristics to be identified. The criteria that are proposed as an appropriate means of comparing one late nineteenth-century community with another are discussed below.

3. Criteria

This research will be innovative by analysing the social relationships within a late nineteenth-century community, adapting the sociological technique of social network analysis, and incorporating also other relevant techniques and approaches developed within sociology and other disciplines. Although Macfarlane has pointed to the potential value of this approach to historians interested in community studies, it is difficult to find any examples of research that has taken up the challenge. (23) Whilst a major difficulty of using this approach for sociologists has been analysing the sheer volume of data derived for even a few individuals through interview techniques, for the historian the difficulty is likely to be the reverse. Dennis has rejected such an approach because data in an historical context cannot be complete. (24) Clearly data in any context cannot be other than partial, but the writer believes that sufficient can be found to come to a meaningful understanding

of some aspects at least of the social relationships within a late nineteenth century community.

Given the interdisciplinary nature of the concept of ' community ', it is also believed that research into a community in an historical context would be far from complete if it did not draw from other disciplines, particularly sociology. A large volume of work by sociologists has shown that two major factors influence the nature of the social networks that develop within a community - the extent to which the members of that community remain living within it, giving time for relationships to develop, and the extent to which kinship links exist within that community. These two criteria will therefore be considered in some depth, before an attempt is made to analyse the social networks that have been found to exist.

(i) Persistence

It has been suggested that the length of time resident in one place, or persistence, has, and has had, a positive effect upon relationships within communities, strengthening the sense of solidarity of their members. (25) It has also been suggested that these solidarities have tended to break down where there were high rates of mobility. (26) Work relying upon direct observation, such as that by Young and Wilmott in East London, has shown that whether length of residence has a positive or negative effect upon social relationships, it is a, " key variable in community life ". (27)

Other studies, carried out by sociologists, and developing the social network approach, have shown that length of residence is one of the best predicators of the type and degree of neighbourhood participation, and that length of residence is also the strongest single influence upon the ' density of acquaintanceship ' within a community. (28) Clearly the work of sociologists demonstrates that which might

otherwise be reasonably assumed - that length of residence, or persistence, is an essential component of any consideration of social relationships within a locality, and that this factor, in some communities at least, affects the extent to which they are close-knit, as defined in the context of social networks, and affects some characteristics of those social links.

If this research is to include as many members of the community as possible it is necessary to rely upon the census as the data source for any measure of persistence, which means that comparisons must be made over a ten year interval. A criticism of this measure has been that residents may have left, and then returned to the community over this time period, making it appear that they were continuously resident, perhaps the key point is that they have returned. Overall, therefore, the advantages of using this measure are taken to outweigh the potential disadvantages.

As the research will be concentrating upon the community at a particular point in time, it is necessary to decide whether to measure persistence forwards or backwards in time, or both. The key issue here is what proportion of the residents have lived in the community and had time to build up social networks over the previous ten years. The measure will therefore be taken backwards - from 1891 to 1881, which in this instance will necessarily exclude children aged 10 and under in 1891. However, the persistence of this group can be considered using different measures, as outlined below. Another group - women who have married over the ten year period and changed their names - will be difficult to trace, but again this can be overcome to some extent by using parish marriage records in conjunction with the census data.

Another decision has to be made relating to persistence - whether length of residence at an address, parish or Enumeration District is to be calculated. For this

research, the pertinent area is that of the community, in other words a locality within which social contacts are relatively frequent. This is likely to be for one, or a number, of Enumeration Districts, as it is difficult to exactly match streets from one census to the next, but it is possible to be confident that whole Enumeration Districts correspond, from the descriptions given. As a ' binary ' approach - which assumes that under certain conditions a given level and quality of social interaction, or ' community ', can be said to either exist or not - is rejected, the exact location of the community boundary is less critical. Social relationships will exist within any spatial area. The nearest appropriate Enumeration District boundary can therefore be adopted, and there is not the difficulty of making a judgement on whether the boundary of the ' community ' and Enumeration District coincide.

Persistence over a ten year period will be analysed for the community as a whole according to occupation and age, as will persistence over individuals' lifetimes, using place of birth data. For households that include children, it will also be possible to give a fuller picture of mobility and persistence by analysing the place of birth of children. And finally, an even more inclusive picture of persistence of children can be given by the analysis of school attendance books. Conclusions relating to persistence alone will contribute directly to the conclusions of this research, in that it will be taken that it is likely that a close-knit community will comprise a population that has been relatively stable. Persistence will then be related to the patterns of social networks within the community.

(ii) Kin

It has been suggested that the presence of kinship links within a community is likely to have a strengthening effect. (29) Relating to social network analysis, Dennis suggests that the density of social interaction is likely to be increased by the presence of kin, which is supported by the direct findings of Young and Wilmott in

East London - that kin act as a doorway to other members of the community. (30) Anderson has carried out perhaps the most comprehensive work dealing with kinship in the nineteenth century, and has concluded that kin were more important than neighbours in providing help within the community. (31) Clearly no consideration of social relationships within a locality is complete without considerable attention being given to the role of kin.

Kinship patterns will be analysed for those who are coresident, looking at variations by occupation and place of birth, both for individuals and household units. An assessment will be made of the extent to which neighbours were also kin, using other parish records in conjunction with the census. Finally, all available data will be used to identify the ways in which kin supported each other in the research community. This analysis will contribute to the final conclusions of this research in that it will be taken that a close-knit community incorporates an understanding that kinship networks will be comparatively strong, and that a relatively high degree of support will be forthcoming from kin. Attention will then be given to the extent to which kin play a role in the development of social networks.

(iii) Social Interaction

Having established as a basis the characteristics of the two key variables of length of time resident within the community, and the extent of the presence of kinship links, attention will be turned to the patterns of social interaction themselves.

The term ' close-knit ', used in the aims of this research, and commonly used in relation to locality-based communities, can, and has, been used within the context of social network analysis. (32) In a general sense ' close-knit ' carries with it an understanding that most members of the community know each other, probably through long association, and possibly also through kinship links. In social network

analysis the term can be used more precisely to be a measure of the degree of interconnection and overlap of individuals' or groups' social interactions.

Many sociologists have attempted to categorise and measure different kinds of network and relationship. An attempt will be made in this research to build upon their work, and adapt it to a structure that is appropriate in an historical context. Davies and Herbert identify four main measures to define the structure of social networks :- their size (for example the number of potential and actual social contacts), their composition (for example the extent to which networks include kin, or which gender or age groups are included), their structure (for example the frequency of contacts, or the extent to which networks overlap), and finally their contents (which could include individual perceptions of the values of social links.) (33)

Others have attempted to categorise types of relationship in terms of types of behaviour, ranging from acquaintance (of neighbours, workmates or association members) to personal, or sociable links (in which acquaintances choose to spend time together), to collective involvement (in which individuals actively organise in associations.) (34)

These criteria will be used within a multidimensional framework to describe Madeley as a late nineteenth-century locality-based community. They will form the basis of the methodology proposed by this research, and stated as one of its aims in the introduction.

The first dimension of the framework deals with the structure of the social networks within the community, under the headings of composition, structure and content, as described above,and identified by Davies and Herbert. (35) In this research, rather than consider size separately, it will be included under

composition, so that the relative sizes of the composite groups can be compared more directly.

The composition, structure and contents of networks can be assessed on a continuum that corresponds to the extent to which the community could be described as close-knit or loose-knit. Thus the larger the networks of kin, for example, the more close-knit the community could be said to be. Likewise the more that networks overlap, and the more frequent the contacts, the more the community could be described as close-knit. Evidence relating to individuals' feeling about social relationships within the community can similarly be placed upon a scale indicating how positively the community is perceived. These three measures comprise a second dimension of the framework.

Each of the above aspects of the structure of the social network will be considered in a third dimension - that of the type of behaviour, as identified above. Thus the composition, structure and content of networks will be described on the level of acquaintance (through the neighbourhood or formal associations, for example), on the level of personal , or informal contacts (made by choice, during leisure time), or on the level of collective involvement (in which individuals are positively involved in organising social organisations). These, too, will be viewed on the second dimension above, in terms of the extent to which the community could be described as close-knit. The more that social contacts can be shown to develop from acquaintances to informal contacts, the more close-knit the community could be said to have been. The more that individuals are involved in organising associations, the more collectively orientated they could be said to be (which is not to imbue this attribute with either a positive or negative gloss).

This approach, then, analysing the two key variables of persistence and kinship patterns, and relating these to the social networks within the community within the

multidimensional framework described above, form the basis of the methodology proposed by this research which could enable direct comparisons to be made between the social systems of different late nineteenth-century communities.

4. Sources

This section will consider the issues that relate to the use of the principal sources to be used in this research. Most attention will be devoted to the census as the central source.

(i) Census

Any consideration of late nineteenth-century communities would be incomplete without the use of the census, as it gives data on the whole population, unlike any other source, and gives data on a range of fields of interest - for example, occupation, mobility and kinship, to name but a few.

Within this research there are a number of areas which will rely heavily upon census data. The first is the very definition of a ' mining community ', both in the sense of the meaning of the term, and the size and shape of the location. As the census is the only source for the second half of the nineteenth century which even purports to give occupational data for the whole population, it must be used as the basis of the definition. In particular, the grouping of occupational data to determine whether a community could be defined as a mining community must be considered carefully, as the size of the different groups within the classification will clearly determine whether ' miners ' are indeed the most numerous group.

The definition of a mining community in terms of its location and size, is also governed by the way in which the census data was collected. Whilst enumerators

often took a great deal of care in describing the location of schedules, the route taken to cover an Enumeration District was left to the discretion of the enumerator, and was not necessarily the same from one census to the next. It is therefore sometimes difficult to match individual properties or streets with confidence, and it is necessary to use Enumeration District boundaries for the unit of area to be investigated.

The boundary and locality are merely a means of making manageable the size and population of the area to be researched, given the adopted definition and approach of this research - that of a community as a locality based social system, in which social relationships will exist, and can be studied, whatever the boundary. The fact that Enumeration District boundaries remained constant for all nineteenth-century censuses means that comparisons can be made between social composition and social relationships at different dates is justification enough for using census boundaries to determine the limits of the communities to be researched.

The main body of the analysis - the chapters dealing with persistence, kinship and social networks - all rely heavily upon census data. In all cases, it is necessary to identify each individual, so that each can be matched from one census to the next, or with references in other primary data, such as press reports. Fortunately the census provides a great deal of ' corroborating ' evidence, such as age, place of birth, occupation and names of others in the household, so that it is possible to identify individuals with some confidence.

Data in all of the above mentioned chapters will be analysed according to occupational, or industrial group. Central to all the ways that the census will be used in this research therefore, are the occupational data, and it is these census data that have aroused great controversy, and have caused difficulty in interpretation. Three major questions arise in relation to this research : firstly, is a

classification based upon occupation, or upon industrial groups, more relevant to the definition of a mining community, or to the comparative analysis of patterns of persistence and coresidential groups ? Secondly, what is the optimum number of categories in such a classification for these purposes ? Thirdly, how is the work of women in the community to be recognised, particularly that which is part-time, irregular or unpaid ?

Since householders for both the nineteenth-century censuses to be researched were merely instructed to enter their ' rank, profession or occupation ', a very wide range of terms are found in the records, some being local terms for sometimes the same occupation, and some being specific terms for what might be regarded today as very similar work. Thus, for example, coal miner, miner, coal labourer, sinker, chartermaster are but a few of the occupational terms that were used for work in a coal mine.

Clearly the entries under ' occupation ' have to be classified. Unfortunately the classification used for aggregating the census data changed at successive censuses through the late nineteenth century, so that any research making comparisons between different dates immediately encounters problems. This was recognised in 1886 by Booth, who proposed a classification which could be used to compare censuses throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. (36)

This classification also incorporated Booth's recognition that there was a need for data based upon *industry* rather than *occupation.* This distinction, and difficulty when using census data, is one that has been given scant attention by social historians, and those with an interest in mining communities in particular, but it is central to a clear understanding of what we mean by ' mining community '. Surely what is implied is a community in which the coal mining *industry* is dominant, and one where more people work *at* mines than elsewhere.

Thus Booth's ' mining ' category includes charter master, clerk (coal miner), iron miner, mining company's secretary and others connected with mines, for example. It includes everyone stated as working at a mine, not only at the coalface, and also includes iron miners, avoiding another problem of definition where different minerals are extracted at the same mine. A difficulty of this classification arises because in the census, householders were asked only to give their occupation, and not necessarily their workplace. Not all people working at a coal mine will be included if their occupational description does not show their place of work. Thus ' engine drivers ' operating machinery at the surface, blacksmiths, platelayers or sawyers, for example, who may have been working at the coal mine will have to be entered under the industrial categories of ' manufacture ' or ' transport '.

Nevertheless, the advantages of Booth's classification outweigh this disadvantage, at least for the purpose of defining an occupational community. As the proportion of people working in the mining industry can only be *under*estimated using Booth's classification, its use cannot indicate that a mining community exists, where in fact a higher proportion of people are working in another industry. On the other hand, the use of the 1851 occupational classification used by the census would certainly exclude many people working at a coal mine, and therefore give a misleading picture.

Equally important is the effect of the choice of classification upon the comparisons that can be made between groups. Booth's industrial classification has the advantage that it makes possible comparisons between, for example, those working in mining and those working in iron manufacture, or in agriculture. Classifications based upon occupation alone allow only comparisons between different income, class or socioeconomic groups, which perpetuates the notion that these differences are more significant than differences between industries. (37)

Closely related to *which* groups should be used in a classification of occupational data is the question of the *number* of categories that should be used, and the same choice of existing classifications is available - those based upon the occupational classification used by the census, and that proposed by Booth. The occupational classification has up to twentyfour categories, whereas the classification based on industrial groups has a more manageable nine categories. This is especially important where comparisons are to be made between groups on patterns of persistence and coresidence, and individual categories would be more likely to become statistically insignificant where smaller communities are being investigated.

It is in the area of occupational data in relationship to women that most criticism of the census has arisen, and it is a question that has to be addressed in research that aims to be as inclusive as possible. The crucial point here is how the labour of women in the late nineteenth century should be recognised, especially where no entry has been made in the ' occupation ' column of the census return. In fact, the instructions given to enumerators in 1851 appear at first sight to have been remarkably egalitarian. These stated specifically that women's occupations were to be entered under exactly the same circumstances as those for men, in other words for regular, paid employment, including that performed at home, but that, " the occupations of mistresses of families and ladies engaged in domestic duties are not expressed - as they are well understood ". (38)

Nevertheless, one of the classes given for occupations in the nineteenth-century censuses from 1851 onwards was for ' household duties (wives, children) ', thus giving full recognition for domestic work in the home, even though no entry would have been made in the ' occupation ' column because the work was not paid. Thus if the 1851 classification system were to be used as the basis for the definition of a mining community, it would no doubt be very hard to find one, as in most

communities the largest occupational group would have been that of ' household duties '.

This treatment of women may give a distorted view, because it gives the impression that women were primarily occupied in the home, and it ignores the paid work of women, which was often irregular, and therefore not entered in the census. There is also a good deal of evidence to show that either heads of household, or enumerators, or both, did not even enter the regular, but part time, work that women did. (39)

Booth's classification gives even less acknowledgement of women's work, as all those without a stated occupation in the census are grouped under ' others - not in employment '. If this category were to be adopted, it would not even be possible to identify separately women working unpaid, or part time, at home, as they would be grouped with men who were not working full time. Higgs clearly identifies this shortcoming of census data, which applies even more to Booth's classification than to the occupational categories, " the figures in the occupational tables are not ' hard facts ' or ' raw data '. They were constructed by men (in the specific sense of members of the male gender) who had certain assumptions about the position of women in society ". (40)

A possible alternative to either classification would be to include women engaged in domestic work at home under the occupational group of their male relative, following the argument that women, in supporting their male relatives at home are in fact contributing to their male relative's occupation or industry. However, gross assumptions would have to be made as to who was supporting whom, and would lead to greater difficulty in interpreting the census. The solution must be that the definition of an occupational community must be based upon paid regular employment, as declared in the census, but to recognise the shortcomings of the

data, in terms of the lack of financial reward for women's work, and the lack of recognition of part time and irregular paid employment. However, in this research, women not entered as having an occupation in the census will constitute a separate category, distinct from others not in paid employment, both to make it possible to identify their role in the community more accurately, and to highlight the lack of recognition that was given to their work. The shortcomings emphasise the importance of using other sources alongside the census when attempting to assess women's position in the community, to give as full and accurate a picture as possible.

Some have concluded that the problems relating to women's occupational data for the great majority who were not heads of household in the nineteenth-century censuses are insurmountable, rendering the data referring to women's work useless. (41) If this course is taken, even more of women's experiences in the nineteenth century will be lost, and Alexander's criticism that, " most historians define the working class de facto as working men " would be as true today as when it was written, twenty years ago. (42)

Other difficulties associated with the use of the census as a source appear relatively minor, but they are nevertheless significant. The first concerns its accuracy. As early as 1851, concerns were expressed by the Registrar General himself about the effect of leaving the prime responsibility for the entries with heads of household. As Hill points out, the modern census still requires a level of literacy greater than that of a significant proportion of the population, so how much greater must the problems have been in 1851 ? (43) Even though enumerators were instructed to help householders, they were still dependent upon the knowledge of the head of household, if they managed to find him or her at home when they called. Doubts could arise in identifying individuals in this research, because of changes in the spelling of names, or differences in details of age or place of birth. (44)

Nevertheless, Tillot, having carried out a complete review of all sources of error in the censuses of 1851 and 1861, comes to the conclusion that although there are shortcomings, the census overall can be relied upon as a historical source. (45) It is probable that towards the end of the nineteenth century, the census came to be regarded with less suspicion, and was more readily accepted by all sections of the population. In addition, with increasing literacy levels following the 1870 Education Act, and with increasing experience of filling in the returns, the census became better understood, which suggests that as a source it can be relied upon to a greater extent towards the close of the nineteenth century. However, to avoid errors as far as possible, and assess their extent, it is clearly necessary to use as much corroborating evidence as possible from sources other than the census, such as parish records.

Another difficulty arises from a change in the use of terms, specifically the looseness with which the terms ' step- ' and ' in-law ' were used in the nineteenth century, and therefore entered in the census, and the lack of clear instruction to the householder on the matter. Higgs points out that for example, ' brother-in-law ' could be entered where ' brother ' was meant, in twentieth-century terms, and that ' daughter-in-law ' could mean ' step daughter '. (46) Marriage links could therefore be inferred by the modern historian where they did not, in fact, exist. Without any research to date to indicate the extent of this problem, it is clearly necessary to check marriage links as far as possible both with parish records, and the previous census, and to interpret this kinship data with caution.

A final problem is one of omission of information on married women's maiden names. As a consequence if they were married during the ten year period under investigation for persistence data, some young adult women in particular will be

' lost '. Probably for this reason studies to date on persistence have only included heads of household (predominantly male), or male heads of household. This is again to consign women to the sidelines of nineteenth-century history. Even though the data for women's persistence is less complete than that for men, in the interests of inclusion of the whole community, it is necessary to take steps to overcome the shortcomings of the census, rather than exclude sections of the community from consideration. Again, the difficulty illustrates the need to use census data in conjunction with other sources, especially parish records, to give as complete a picture as possible.

The census has the great advantage as a source for this research of being inclusive, and it is particularly valuable in giving information on the working class, and despite all the difficulties, for women, for whom other data is especially scarce. Furthermore, there is a range of corroborating evidence that makes it possible to identify individuals, and match them against another census or source with a high degree of confidence, without which the approach taken in this research would not be possible. The census is arguably at least as accurate and unbiased as most other sources, so is *relatively* ' hard ', but needs to be treated with perhaps more caution than has always been the case, as noted by Hill, " The truth of the matter is that historians have far too often given to statistical material an uncritical acceptance that would be unthinkable in dealing with other source material ". (47)

Higgs points out that it is not enough to merely recognise the shortcomings of the census, but that methodologies need to take fuller account of them to present a more balanced result, especially as far as women are concerned, " what has been done does not appear to have impinged upon the working methods of some quantitative historians ". (48)

In this research both the shortcomings, and the relative reliability, of census data will be recognised. Women not entered in the census as engaged in full time paid employment will be fully included in the analysis as a separate group, with the understanding that nearly all worked, either unpaid, or in temporary or part-time employment. In every other respect, Booth's classification of occupation will be adopted as more appropriate for this research than the 1851 occupational classification, enabling comparisons to be made according to industry, and for different censuses.

(ii) Oral evidence

In research based upon the fundamental principles of inclusivity and value of individual perceptions of social relationships, clearly oral evidence is of prime importance, and it is fortunate that much is on record for the community, within ten or twenty years of the research date.

A prime advantage of this source is that it does not depend upon individuals having been literate, or even necessarily particularly articulate or successful. (49) It can therefore help to *complete* the picture for those not well represented in other sources - in other words those most marginalised in history - the inarticulate, the less literate, the least well educated, the least successful, those who had the fewest opportunities. (50) It has been used to great effect to illuminate the lives of women, notably by Roberts and John. (51) In this research women, and those not living in family units, such as servants, and children will be given a voice through oral records.

A second critical advantage of the source is the access that it gives to individuals' attitudes and feelings about their community, and on the *ways* in which kin and neighbours helped each other. (52) In this research it would be difficult to comment

meaningfully on the content of social networks without this source, or written autobiographical evidence. Storm-Clark noted that, " the social history of coalmining .... remains in substance largely unwritten ", and attributes this to reliance upon " conventional documentary evidence ". (53) A very great deal remains to be discovered, but the progress that has been made in this field, for example by Beynon and Austrin, and Benson, is in no small measure due to the growth of oral evidence available, even though it has not been used in the context of social network analysis, as in this research. (54)

It has been suggested that the fact that personal perspectives are given is a disadvantage. (55) However, as it is argued in this research that the cumulation of community studies reveals meaningful patterns, so does the cumulation of individual oral records, as has been shown for example in the work of Roberts and John. (56) As noted above, a range of transcripts are available that relate to the research community, which reveal both common patterns, and the variety of individual experiences. (57)

A second disadvantage of oral records can be found in the approach of the interviewer, and the extent to which questions are restricting or leading. In fact the records used in this research have encouraged interviewees to talk freely about their memories of living in the community. Although some points may have been missed, it is clear which aspects of social relationships in the community made the greatest impression on the individuals, and which aspects of community life were most important to them. The very selectivity of their comment or memory is revealing.

A final disadvantage that has been identified is that interviewees may give a ' biased ' account, having chosen to give evidence for a particular purpose. This is a criticism that can more justifiably be levelled at written autobiographical evidence.

In fact the interviewees in this case happened to be those who were the oldest, still living in the community, and available, so comprised a sample of the population who had not put themselves forward in any way, with the aim of presenting a particular view of the community. (58)

(iii) The Press

The greatest advantage of the local late Victorian press for this research is the lack of editing and fullness of the reports. As a consequence, every individual present at a marriage, funeral, association meeting, playing for a sports team or involved in a court action appears to have been named. It is possible to identify the majority of these individuals with a high degree of confidence from the census, such that social networks can be established at an individual level. (59) This lack of editing also provides helpful insights into individuals' attitudes towards others in the community, particularly through direct quotations from verbal evidence given in court.

A second consideration is the degree of cover of local associations and events, which in itself is affected by the readership of the papers. Brown claims that the Victorian press was generally read, " even by the poorest " by the end of the nineteenth century, and notes the explosion of sports reporting. (60) This does seem to have been true for the press referred to above. Whilst ' society ' events such as balls, are fully reported, many more column inches are devoted to reporting on the numerous football teams and matches. Of course some events were not covered, and this in itself is revealing in that it showed which organisations were probably the more energetic and better supported, as it was these that ensured that the papers were aware of forthcoming events.

A third consideration is the extent to which data can be found for all sectors of the community. Evidence can be found in the press for some of those who might have been thought of as relatively marginalised either in terms of historical evidence, or within the community. Women are mentioned individually at association events, and in court proceedings. The reporting does appear to reflect the extent to which women participated in formal organisations and public events. Children are included in Sunday School reports, and in court cases. Some of the more disaffected appear in court reports. Of course only a relatively small sample of all community members are mentioned by name, and those who are, are particularly those active in associations, or who appear in the courts. But there is no evidence to support the view that the sample is strongly skewed towards the more prosperous - more towards those with the time, motivation and energy to actively participate in leisure activities. The groups least likely to appear were the iron workers and domestic servants - those who probably worked the longest hours.

Notes and References

1. M. Bulmer, Sociological Review, p. 79. See also footnote 4 below.
2. R. Church, The History, p. 611.
3. M.R. Haines, Journal of Interdisciplinary History.
4. E. Billington, " Silverdale - A Demographic Study. " The term ' settlement ' often appears to be used interchangeably in the literature with ' community ', to mean an urban settlement, with its population.
5. A. John, Journal of the Society for the Study of Welsh Labour History; M. Mills, " Women, Family and Community, " and A. Walker, Local History, p. 317.
6. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters.
7. D. Gilbert, Labour History Review, p. 52.
8. F. Driver and R. Samuel, History Workshop Journal, p. 19.
9. T. Nicholson, Labour History Review, p. 83.
10. D. Gilbert, Labour History Review, p. 53. D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, in " The Cultural Capital of Coal Mining Communities ", in Sheffield Hallam University, Coal, Culture and Community, p. 52, note that " some sociological studies of mining communities in the past almost forgot that they are composed not only of miners, but of households in which there are men, women and children. ..... Thus we must focus not only on men, but also on women ". It is surprising, in view of this observation, that an argument was not made for the inclusion of children, nor for the other members of mining communities often ignored, such as the lodgers and servants to whom Gilbert drew attention.
11. R. Samuel, Village, xv.
12. D. Massey, History Workshop Journal, p.191.
13. T. Nicholson, Labour History Review, p. 86.
14. J. Benson, The Working Class in Britain, p. 117.
15. R. Church, The History, pp. 636 - 7.
16. B. Trinder, The Industrial, p. 241.
17. See also W.J. Fishman, East End, pp. viii, ix, and J. Saville, The British, p. 2. A. Walker, Local History, p. 318 also points out that it is by a " close reading " of the census and marriage registers that he was able to demonstrate the importance of women's economic activity in mining family households. D. Tonks, Family and Community History, p. 56, shows that by examining the size of mining families at " pit community " level, it is possible to understand the factors affecting fertility rates more fully than on a broader scale.
18. D. Massey, History Workshop Journal, p. 186, and Space, Place, p. 169.
19. G. Crow and G. Allan, Community, p. 196.
20. A. Macfarlane, Reconstructing, p. 14.
21. M. Haines, Population, and M. Bulmer, The Sociological Review.
22. A. Macfarlane, op. cit..
23. Ibid., p. 638.
24. R. Dennis, English Industrial, p. 270.
25. C. Marshall, " Levels of Industrial Militancy ", p. 216.

26. Ibid., p. 250; M. Bulmer, Mining, p. 26; J. Benson, The Working Class in Britain, p. 123.
27. M. Daunton, Coal Metropolis, p. 140, and M. Young and P. Wilmott, Family.
28. W. Davies and D. Herbert, Communities, p.74.
29. R. Dennis, English Industrial, p. 250; J. Benson, The Working Class in Britain, p. 119; W. Williams, The Sociology, p. 84; A. Walker, The Local Historian.
30. R. Dennis, English Industrial, p. 250; M. Young and P. Wilmott, Family, p. 91; G. Crow and G. Allan, op. cit., p.vii, refer to research that shows that even where a minority felt that they belonged to a community, neighbourhood networks amongst kin were still important.
31. M. Anderson, Family, p. 171.
32. E. Bott, Family, p. 59
33. W. Davies and D. Herbert, Communities, p. 68
34. Ibid., p. 72.
35. In this research, rather than consider size separately, it will be included under composition, so that the relative sizes of the composite groups can be compared more directly.
36. M. Armstrong, " The Use of Information about Occupation ", in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), Nineteenth-Century Society, 1972, p. 247.
37. M. Anderson, Family. Anderson divided his sample into socioeconomic groups (from the occupational classification used in the census) for the purpose of analysis, and could make comparisons between labourers, in socioeconomic group VII with factory workers in socioeconomic groups IV and V, but not between factory workers in one industry with those in another. In D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, Coal, Capital and Culture, the authors compared the age structure of miners with that of non-miners, but did not look in any greater detail than that.
38. P.M. Tillot, " Sources of Inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 Censuses ", in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), Nineteenth-Century Society, 1972, p. 121.
39. E. Higgs, History Workshop Journal, pp. 63 - 64. A. Walker, Women's History Review, p. 327, has shown how miners' wives contributed to the family income in South Yorkshire in the late nineteenth century by taking in lodgers, although the same women were rarely recorded as having an occupation in the census.
40. E. Higgs, op. cit., p. 60.
41. L. Davidoff and C. Hall, Family Fortunes, p. 135. It is possible that this is the reason why Billington and Bulmer excluded women from their definitions of mining communities. Anderson also only uses men for his data on occupation and socioeconomic group, but includes women in his other statistical data, so the reader must assume that this demonstrates modification of his methods of analysis in recognition of the shortcomings of the data, although it is not explicitly stated in the same volume. See also M.Anderson, " The Study ", pp. 55 and 75.
42. S. Alexander, " Women's Work ", in J. Mitchell and A. Oakley, The Rights, p. 59.
43. B. Hill, History Workshop Journal, p. 78.
44. M. Anderson, The Study, p. 75. Anderson found that of 475 individuals in Preston in 1861, 47% gave ages on the previous census that were not exactly 10

years different. He also found 14% of his sample had discrepancies in the entries for place of birth. P.M. Tillot, Sources, p. 107, using the 1851 and 1861 censuses in Derbyshire found that 28% of his sample made errors of a year, but that errors over two years were rare.

45. P.M. Tillot, Sources.
46. E. Higgs, History Workshop Journal, p. 65.
47. B. Hill, History Workshop Journal, p. 92.
48. E. Higgs, History Workshop Journal, p. 60.
49. C. Storm-Clark, Oral History, p.77. In fact Storm-Clark claims that the historian's objectives, " will naturally draw him towards respondents possessing a higher than average degree of literacy or intelligence." The writer does not agree. In her view, historians will be drawn to as many respondents as possible, to give the broadest possible sample.
50. E. Roberts, Economic History Review, p. 307.
51. Ibid., and A. John, Oral History.
52. R. Samuel (ed.) , Village Life, xx, and P. Catterall, Modern History Review.
53. C. Storm-Clark, op. cit..
54. J. Benson, British Coalminers, and H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters.
55. P. Catterall, op cit..
56. E. Roberts, op. cit., and A. John, op. cit..
57. W. Howard, Labour History Review.
58. J. Burnett, Useful Toil, and C. Storm-Clark, op. cit..
59. L. Brown, Victorian News, p. 250.
60. Ibid., pp. 48 and 99.

PART 2 : MINING COMMUNITIES

The second part of this thesis also comprises two chapters. The first, chapter three, will provide an overview of the literature relating to late nineteenth-century mining communities, and to the approach of this research. It will therefore consider the literature that deals with each of the three principal criteria that have been identified as at the core of understanding local social systems: persistence, kinship and social networks, in both ' formal ' and ' informal ' contexts, in other words within and outside associations.

Chapter four will focus upon the parish of Madeley, first outlining the development of locality based communities within the parish, particularly in terms of their employment structures, since this research is concerned with an occupational community. The second part of the chapter discusses and justifies the geographical boundaries of the community to be researched within the parish.

CHAPTER 3 : LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MINING COMMUNITIES

Although much has been written about nineteenth-century mining, and different aspects of mining communities, a good deal less has been written about nineteenth-century mining communities as social systems. The observation of Church in 1986, that there was an absence of, " a general study of the mining community as a whole in the nineteenth century " remains true today. (1) Studies of individual nineteenth-century mining communities have often either been from the perspective of just one person - biographical or autobiographical - or have been concerned primarily with the relationship between social relationships within the community and the propensity to take strike action. (2) Only the work of Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter,in the mid twentieth century, has focused upon social relationships within the community in their own right, and none has attempted to examine the truth or otherwise of the stereotypes of the close-knit or loose-knit mining community - a primary aim of this research.

As outlined above, this chapter will review the literature relating to persistence, kinship and social networks in late nineteenth-century mining communities.

1. Persistence

It has been shown above that ideas of persistence, of stability, of a majority of people within a community living within a locality over a considerable period of time, developing wider and stronger social networks, are fundamental to both stereotypes of mining communities. In the close-knit community it is assumed that families are not

only likely to have lived in the locality for a number of years, but to have remained there from one generation to the next. In the frontier-like community it is assumed that a considerable proportion of the population are young unmarried men, and that these men, as well as others, are likely to stay within any given locality for only a limited period.

These stereotypes arise from limited evidence, much of which has been based upon individuals' observations and perceptions, referring to limited locations, and inferred to be true more generally. Statistical data to demonstrate the truth of either stereotype as a generalisation is likewise limited, and fraught with difficulties of interpretation. It will therefore be shown that it is not possible to come to any conclusion with confidence on the validity of either stereotype from research carried out to date, although there is sufficient evidence from the statistical data to suggest that the individually observed evidence may not be universally applicable. It will also be shown that a range of factors appear to affect rates of persistence, and that it is too simplistic to consider an entire community as a homogeneous unit. Some identifiable sections of the community are likely to have been more persistent than others.

To consider assertions made on the basis of individual perceptions, there appears to be considerable evidence to support the view of the stable community. Whilst autobiographers do not claim that their accounts are universally true, reference to their accounts by others make it appear so. For example, Benney, in his widely read book " Charity Main " states categorically that he would, " not like to leave the impression that the picture I have painted is universally true, " and emphasises the variation between the coalfields in Britain, and social and technical conditions within regions. He nevertheless asks the reader to accept that his book is a " true and fair account *of a region* ". Referring to pit villages of the western Durham coalfield in the 1940's, he

claims that most managers had worked in the companies' pits for 30 or 40 years, and were local men " *born and bred* ", and that the communities were " *stable* and hard-working " and " settled in their habits ". (3)

Beynon and Austrin take it as read that there was a " strong sense of place associated with being *born and brought up* " in a Durham mining villages in the early twentieth century. (4) Marshall, in his work on Durham miners at the end of the nineteenth century claims that, " in the older well-established communities with little need of migrant labour, there was usually a well-established leadership structure and social interaction network ". (5) It seems to be accepted therefore, that stability and persistence was the norm in the Durham coalfield at least, and over a considerable length of time, despite the lack of statistical evidence to support the view.

Bulmer, also referring to Durham pit villages in the twentieth century, claims that a " community's solidarity was strengthened by a *shared history of living and working in one place* " and that " *family continuity " was usual*. The basis of this conclusion appears to have been Benney's individual observations, as Bulmer quotes Benney's assertion that fathers and grandfathers taught men the craft of mining. Benney's observations may or may not have been generally true for pit villages across western Durham in the 1940's, but from Bulmer's writing, they now appear to apply across the county in the twentieth century. Further, Bulmer summarises his work with *general* conclusions of the sociological features of mining communities, in which he asserts that " a sense of *shared past* is of fundamental importance ". It now appears, therefore, on the basis of Benney's observations of one village in the 1940's, that it is generally true that mining communities were stable, and had high rates of persistence. Although Bulmer recognises that, " between communities there was and is considerable

variation ", the reader is left with the clear impression that it was normally the case that mining communities were settled and stable. (6)

Since much more has been written about pit villages on the Durham coalfield than elsewhere, it is these villages that are most frequently cited as examples, giving the impression of their general validity. However it is not only in Durham that work based upon individual impressions has contributed to the view of mining communities as stable.

Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter's portrait of a Yorkshire mining community in the mid twentieth century is frequently referred to, because it is the only work that has been carried out to date examining a mining community as a local social system, and yet it can no more be said to represent most mining communities (at any period) than autobiographical work such as Benney's. The authors found that four fifths of the families in ' Ashton ' at the time of study had links that stretched back over fifty or sixty years in the same community . This is probably the strongest evidence available to support the view of the stable mining community, but it does only refer to one place and time period. Although the work only claims to be, " a report *of the social life of a* mining community ", the authors generalise from the particular, to assert that,
" the effect of a common set of persisting social relationships, shared over a life-time by men working in the same collieries is a very powerful one. In the main, this factor is responsible for the reinforcement and reaffirmation of these social bonds which have been shown to *be characteristic of* present-day mineworking ". (7)

On the other hand, there is some limited evidence from a non statistical source that indicates mobility, rather than persistence. Also concentrating upon Yorkshire miners earlier in the twentieth century, Neville has shown from observations in the press that

the diverse origins of members of mining communities produced variation in leisure pursuits. Thus in one area association football and gardening were strong, where families had come from Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, and in another playing dominoes was a common activity, where families had come from Wales or Staffordshire. This information indicates that at least a significant proportion of mining families were not born and brought up in Yorkshire, although it does not tell us whether families remained in the communities to which they migrated for any length of time. In Durham, around the turn of the century, Peter Lee recalled frequent moves, and he worked in fifteeen different collieries himself. (8)

On the basis of non statistical sources therefore, the impression is given that it is generally the case that mining communities were settled and stable, with little turnover of population, and were communities in which there was time for social networks to grow and develop. This view is predominant both as a generalisation, and in work that focuses upon periods from the late nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. There is surprisingly little work that casts doubt upon the universal validity of this view, given the known growth of most coal mining communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which had to be accommodated by immigration of labour. (9)

To what extent, then, does more broadly based statistical evidence substantiate this impression of the stability of mining communities ? To a considerable degree work has relied upon inference from place of birth data, as only a very limited amount of research has been carried out to date on persistence in mining communities. The interpretation of both measures also has to take full account of the variability of the ways in which data from just one source - the census - have been collated, even in a limited range of studies.

The first variable in both place of birth and persistence data is the spatial unit over which measurement has been taken. Spatial units have included enumeration district, parish, five or ten mile radii, districts and regions in work relating to late nineteenth-century mining communities. (10) In simple terms, clearly the larger the unit, the greater the likelihood that the data will show a more stable population.

For example, Beynon and Austrin refer to a Durham community in which in 1851 5% of heads of household had been born in the parish, although 90% had been born in the north east, or at the same date, Ridgway found that that 8.9% of miner heads of household living within the registration district of Gornal had been born there, but that 78.5% had been born ' locally ' - either in Gornal itself, or the adjacent district of Sedgley. (11) In either case, the former figure would lead to the conclusion that the community was characterised by mobility, and more like the ' frontier ' stereotype, whereas the latter figure would firmly indicate the opposite conclusion.

Secondly, place of birth and persistence data usually refer only to a portion of the community, heads of household, which in the great majority of cases excludes women, and always excludes lodgers, so the data appear to overemphasise the stability of the community. Clearly lodgers are likely to be at least as mobile as heads of household, and women are more likely to have moved on marriage, or to have gone into service.

Using both sets of data as a measure of population stability also assumes that those individuals who live in the chosen area had not lived elsewhere either between censuses, or since birth. Both measures therefore give an exaggerated impression of stability, which needs to be borne in mind, especially in the case of place of birth data, taken over a longer time span.

Considering first place of birth data, on the one hand, both in Madeley, Shropshire in 1851 and 1881, and in Silverdale, Staffordshire from 1841 to 1881, over half of heads of household were born within a five mile radius of the parish. (12) This might lead one to the interpretation that mining communities were indeed settled and stable, although if lodgers and most women had been included, and a smaller spatial unit chosen, the opposite conclusion might appear more reasonable.

Other work lends more weight to the view of mining communities having been characterised by mobility. Beynon and Austrin found in one community in Durham that only 5% of heads of household had been born in the parish in 1851, although 90% had been born in the north east. (13) At Coatbridge and Larkhill in Lanarkshire Campbell found that 22.9% and 31.4% respectively of colliers and miners in 1861 had been born in the same district. (14) Again, if women and lodgers had been included, and a smaller unit chosen, the evidence favouring mobility might have been stronger still. Where this was done in the mining community of Highley, Shropshire, towards the end of the century, Ensum found that a quarter or less of all inhabitants aged 10 or over had been born in the parish. (15)

It can be seen that on balance, and taking into account the inherent biases in the data, the evidence gives more support to the picture of mobility, even though that evidence is relatively sparse, and applies to different locations, at different dates.

Persistence data should be a more accurate guide to the extent to which the members of a community remained over a period long enough to have an impact upon social network development, since the time interval, and therefore the opportunity for migration, was shorter. Further to the factors identified above, there are others that

affect the interpretation of these data. Clearly if the area is characterised by immigration, persistence measured forwards in time is likely to provide a higher figure than if measured backwards; migrants moving to an area of employment availability are relatively likely to stay, whereas a high proportion at a given date were less likely to have lived at the same place ten years earlier. The reverse is the case in an area characterised by emigration.

The point is illustrated by work on Highley, a mining community characterised by immigration towards the end of the nineteenth century, where persistence rates were higher calculated forwards in time than backwards. Nearly three tenths of the population living in the community in 1881 were still there ten years later, but only a fifth of the 1891 population had lived there ten years earlier. (16)

However, almost all work to date concerning mining communities has measured persistence forwards. In none of the decades between 1841 and 1871 did a majority of colliers or miners stay within a village for as long as ten years in the mining communities of Lanarkshire researched by Campbell. Had this not been a period of expansion, and women included in the calculation, the likelihood is that the figure would have been lower still. (17) In ' Ashton ' between 1871 and 1881 under a third of mining households stayed in the community for ten years or more. (18) Ridgway found a lower proportion of coalminers still persistent in mid-century Gornal. (19)

The available data referrring to persistence in late nineteenth-century mining communities therefore tends to support the place of birth evidence - that mobility was more characteristic of these communities than the reverse. It would have been surprising if it were otherwise, as the communities researched have been ones characterised by growth and immigration, and the figures calculated forwards.

Even so, the figures are relative, and subject to further interpretation. For example, at ' Ashton ' mining households were found to have been more persistent than non mining households, whereas the opposite was the case in Gornal. (20) And even one set of statistics has been interpreted to give a different impression. Following a discussion of Campbell's work, Warwick and Littlejohn conclude that, " *only* about a tenth to a quarter stayed longer than a decade ", whereas Benson uses the data to emphasise that, " even in years of rapid expansion, a *surprisingly large* number of Lanarkshire miners remained loyal to one village ". (21)

From these more precise measures of stability in coal mining communities, it is possible to say that from the available statistical evidence it appears that mobility was more characteristic of mid to late nineteenth-century mining communities than the reverse, with significant variation by head of household, but that since such evidence is so limited, and confined to expanding communities, it could by no means be taken to necessarily have been true more widely.

A further statistical indication of the persistence of miners can be derived from employers' records. Marshall has shown that approximately a third of hewers employed at Garesfield colliery 1891-2 had not worked there the previous year, and that nearly a fifth left in the same year. (22)

Before leaving persistence, it is important to recognise variables which may have affected the extent to which miners and their families stayed within a given community. The extent to which a community was characterised by emigration or immigration was closely tied to the expansion or decline of a coalfield in the context of this research, as noted by Benson. (23)

Another factor was the availability of work at a different pit that was still within reach of home. Thus the miner could change colliery, but the family remain living within the same community. It is therefore important to make the distinction between inter-colliery movement, and movement between communities. Benson concludes, " when a family man wanted to change pits, he was far more likely to look for one within commuting distance of his house. This was quite feasible, ... few villages (even in Northumberland and Durham) were ever totally dependent on a single colliery. Almost always there at least one or two others within reasonable commuting distance ". (24)

Even in 1873 evidence was given to the Committee on Dearness and Scarcity that of the settled majority of the mining population movement between collieries was common, but rare out of the district. (25) Workmen's trains in South Wales and the East Midlands also enabled some mining families to stay living within the same community. (26)

On the other hand, Neville points out that although most colliery villages in Yorkshire had been reached by the railway in the 1880's, it was not until much later that there were regular train and bus services, and that on the whole, the first time that miners and their families " escaped village life " was *with the advent of excursions* from 1900 onwards. (27) The evidence therefore indicates that some mining families became more settled in the late nineteenth century as opportunities to commute became available in those places where companies provided trains, but that in most mining communities people moved home where work could not be found within walking distance at that period.

A third variable that has been shown to affect persistence in mining populations has been stage in the life cycle. It is not disputed that young people were the most likely to have moved from one community to another. (28) Marshall, for example, found that the average age of migrants to Chopwell colliery between 1896 and 1911 was 30.48 years, and Ensum found that the least persistent age group in Highley in 1891 were 24 to 30 year olds. (29)

There was, however, some difference according to whether those who moved were more likely to have been young single men, or families, and this is pertinent to this research. If the former is the case, it lends weight to the view of mining communities as having been less close-knit, with social networks having been weakened by the lack of broad kinship links. If the latter is the case, even if a significant proportion of the community were newcomers, they arrived with the social support of close family members, and if kin acted as a ' door ' to the community, as suggested by Young and Wilmott, there was the potential for social networks to have been built up quickly .

Neville refers to evidence that often two families lived in one dwelling in Barnsley in 1885, suggesting that it was often the case that *whole families* moved, and temporarily had to find lodgings. (30) This interpretation is supported by the evidence from Highley in 1891, where over 70% of migrants lived with kin, whilst only 20% lived alone in lodgings. Billington implicitly recognises that many women may have migrated on marriage, or to work in service, by avoiding the assumption that because there was a gender balance in the community, that necessarily it was families who moved together. For Silverdale, Staffordshire from 1851 to 1881 he concludes that, " women therefore were also part of the migration movement ". (31)

On the other hand, Benson states that it was often *young single men* that moved, and that family men were more likely to have commuted to work. (32) Haines, having considered evidence relating to South Wales and Durham, postulated in his demographic model of mining communities that such communities would comprise a particularly high proportion of *young adult males* as a result of immigration. (33) Griffin describes late nineteenth-century New Denaby as having been, " very much a ' frontier ' town ", in which men outnumbered women, implying again that *unmarried men* were more likely to have moved than those who were married. (34) However these assertions are less firmly rooted in statistical evidence, so that taking the literature to date as a whole, it appears that migrants were likely to have been young, but not necessarily single, or predominantly male.

Finally, it is clear that amongst miners, some were more likely to move from one community to another according to their skills. For sinkers mobility was part of life. (35) Supervisors and their families also had more opportunity to improve their position by long distance moves. (36) Therefore whilst these sections of mining communities were never numerically large, their mobility had an important influence both on their own perceptions of, and on the nature of, their social relationships within the community.

It is clearly therefore too simplistic to think only in terms of the stability of communities as complete entities, and important to analyse which members of the community had more time to build up relationships, and for which members friendships may have been more transitory.

It has been shown that stability has been emphasised most often in work on mining communities based upon individual observation, but that the statistical evidence that

exists tends to confirm the view that the majority of people living in mining communities in the late nineteenth century were not likely to have been there for ten years or longer. At the same time, it has been shown that any such conclusion must be very tentative, due to the surprisingly limited volume of related research, and may vary considerably from place to place, from one date to another, and with a number of key factors.

2. Kinship

Although reference to kinship networks is rarely omitted from work relating to mining communities, most statements that are made arise from individual observations in limited locations. Little statistical evidence is available to support, or refute, the claims that are made, even though previous work, for example by Anderson, has shown how much can be derived from nineteenth century census data on kinship. (37) It will be shown that the published material which is based upon individual observation overwhelmingly emphasises a positive view of kinship, identifies particular ways in which kin supported each other, and emphasises the central role of women in maintaining kinship links. It will be shown that the analysis of statistical data on kinship in mining communities refers to limited locations, from which it is not possible to draw any widely applicable conclusions.

Evidence that has been based upon individual observation, most often autobiographical, will be considered first. Reference to family relationships in mining communities has been made overwhelmingly in positive terms, and has recognised the quality of kinship networks. Gilbert, for example, refers to, " countless contemporary accounts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ", which comment on " the richness of local networks of kinship ". (38)

Even characteristics of family relationships that many would consider negative, are treated in a positive way. Despite recognising that both " friction and cohesion " were possible in family relationships, Church concludes that " family relationships were *inevitably* close in these relatively isolated communities ". (39)

Some writers are more specific about the role that families played in the social life of mining communities. It is thought that support from kin was especially important at times of difficulty, a " defence against chance and circumstance ". (40) It has further been concluded that such help " went beyond the mere reciprocation of duties or services at times of crisis ". (41)

Others note the importance of multigenerational help, either to ensure support for grandparents as they aged, or to help in the care of large families. (42) It is difficult to judge how widespread such help was, even within the communities referred to, and even more difficult to judge motive, for example whether help was given because it was expected by the community, rather than altruistically, or whether, for example generations lived together because that was the most economic solution.

Close family also helped girls with illegitimate children. John has shown that in late nineteenth-century Lancashire these girls often lived with their parents, marrying the fathers of the children at a later date. (43)

It is also claimed that kin played an important part in extending social networks in mining communities, through contacts at work or the chapel. This was said to have been particularly important for new migrants. (44)

Kinship links were important at the mine, in determining the division of labour, and more important still, in securing employment for sons. Baylies claims that in late nineteenth-century Yorkshire there was " a tendency for employment in pits to ' run in the family ' ". (45) A similar pattern has been shown for pit brow lasses, whose mothers and sisters often had the same occupation. (46)

It appears from the evidence of individual observation that families in some nineteenth-century mining communities played a central part in each others' lives, both in providing support in times of need, possibly above and beyond the requirements of duty, and in extending and developing social networks, although it is not possible to extrapolate from this evidence how widespread such support was, or state with confidence the motives for support.

One further aspect of observational evidence on kinship is relevant to this research, and has attracted frequent comment in the literature. This is comment on gender roles in kinship networks, and it is women who are given almost exclusive credit for developing and maintaining these social structures. Nicholson states that,
" the central role of women in the making and sustaining of families, households, kinship networks and communities can hardly be overemphasised ". (47)
Warwick and Littlejohn, in referring to Bulmer's model of mining communities, describe women as having been, " at the centre of a web of kinship and other traditional social networks ". (48)

It is curious that the maintenance of kinship networks is attributed solely to women, given the recognition of the importance of male kinship links in the pit. It would appear from this that men were just as important as women in developing and maintaining kinship networks. Observations abound of the frequency with which

women renewed kinship links. (49) So could have men - not only at the pit, but also at the pub or working men's club, if accounts of their popularity are to be believed. In addition, as Beynon and Austrin observe, as far as young people were concerned young men were more tied to the family - working with father or uncles, and living at home, unlike girls, who were forced to move out of the community for work in domestic service. (50) In fact Warwick and Littlejohn do question whether the central position of women in kinship networks ever was the case in reality, but was rather a view presented by men who " defined the situation ". These male authors seem to have been reluctant to accept that men as well as women played an important part in the development of social networks, or were mutually supportive.

It has been very difficult to find any suggestion of a negative view of the role of kin in mining communities from work based upon individual observation. Like apple pie, and ' community ', kin seem to be accepted as a Good Thing almost without question, and to have no part in the negatively perceived ' frontier ' stereotype of mining communities. Yet a limited negative view can be inferred from the literature.

The recognition of the loneliness of girls from mining families who had to leave their communities to find work in domestic service demonstrates a lack of support from kin, albeit one enforced by circumstance, for a population group that should rightly be considered part of the community. (51) The recognition not only of the existence of family arguments, but also of rows so frequent in some places to have been regarded as an institution demonstrates that kin were often far from supportive. This view is substantiated in literature by D.H. Lawrence's portrayal of his own drunken and bullying mining father. (52)

It has been noted more recently by some historians that both friction and cohesion, positive and negative aspects of social relationships within families and elsewhere, co-existed. (53) It is difficult to say with confidence either that the positive view has been overemphasised, or that the negative view has not been given the attention that it merited from autobiographical evidence alone.

To what extent, then, can this evidence be corroborated by statistical data ? Yet again, surprisingly little is available. The census has only been used to consider kinship in very few mining communities, even though it is a straightforward exercise from such data to establish the extent to which there were three generational links, and the extent to which at least some unmarried children remained resident with their parents Until the past few years the only source that had been used in published material was marriage registers, to determine the extent to which there was intermarriage between mining families, and the extent to which sons followed their fathers' occupation.

However, the census data available do shed some light upon kinship networks within some mining communities in 1891. In Highley, Lower Gornal and Cradley there is some evidence to substantiate Williamson's assertion that kin were ' the most significant reference group ', in that over four fifths of the population lived within nuclear family units.

However, evidence for multigenerational coresident support by kin is very limited and tentative. In Highley, Lower Gornal and Cradley in 1891 under 7% of the households contained three generations. In Cradley only four households comprised married couples living with grandchildren. These data therefore cast doubt upon Church's assertion that it was common for grandparents to adopt their eldest grandson.

In these communities it was much more likely that wider kin, such as brothers, sisters, neices or nephews, belonged to the household of nuclear families, although such a household unit could still not be described as common, comprising under 13% of households in all communities. In Highley no parents provided a home for newly married children, and at Lower Gornal and Cradley only very low proportions of households could have been included in this category. Evidence to support the suggestion that unmarried adult children continued to live with parents to provide support in their old age is also very limited for these communities.

However it does seem that kin did provide help in sharing accommodation when needed for the elderly or widowed. In Highley all women in these groups, and nearly all men (except some employed as servants) lived with kin, and in all communities only 1% or less of the population lived alone. These few examples of mining communities in 1891 do not show that multigenerational help through coresidence was common, (even though it may have been much more common than at the present time), but that the most vulnerable - the elderly and widowed - overwhelmingly did live with kin.

There is no evidence for these communities on support provided for illegitimate children, or on the extent to which kin helped to extend the social networks of migrants. However there is limited evidence of kin helping each other with accommodation on migration. Two thirds of migrants in Highley in 1891, who had not been there 10 years earlier, were living with kin. (55) This could be interpreted as evidence that kin sometimes did play an important role in finding employment for each other.

In the same village, where father - son relationships could be established, in nearly every case both were miners. (56) The data on intermarriage between mining families

refers to only two locations, but here also it seems that approximately between a half and threequarters of sons followed their father's occupation. (57)

It has therefore been shown that although the evidence based upon individual observation emphasises the supportive nature of kinship networks, there is little available to corroborate or refute this view. A number of ways in which kin are said to have helped each other in mining communities have been identified, but it is difficult to know how widespread such help was. Although it is widely asserted that women were more important than men in maintaining kinship networks, it is not disputed that many sons followed their fathers to the same pits, so it appears that men may have been at least as important as women in this respect. A limited amount of statistical evidence is available, which corroborates some of the assertions that have been made in the literature, but there remains is a good deal of scope for extending such work.

3. Social Networks

(i) Formal Social Interaction

Formal social interaction is been defined as that which occurs at a formally constituted club, association or place of worship. The literature will be reviewed for each of the major groups of association, distinguishing between evidence derived from individuals' observations, and evidence derived from statistical analysis. Most commonly cited, in relation to late nineteenth-century mining communities, are the chapel, non sporting associations, (such as bands, choirs, or classes at institutes) , and sports clubs.

Accounts of mining communities frequently stress the overwhelming importance of these associations in terms of the social opportunities that they provided, and the

widespread participation by members of the community. Indeed, such associational social life has sometimes been seen not only to have been characteristic of late nineteenth-century mining communities, but also to have *comprised* the local social system. (58) Additionally, associations are said to have made a unique contribution to the *quality* of social links. As it is claimed that most of the associations were not only supported by, but also initiated by, members of the community - mainly miners and their families - working together, they are attributed with having engendered feelings of solidarity, and a sense of responsibility for each other's well being, so developing a ' sense of community '. (59)

Foremost amongst these associations was said to have been the chapel. For example, it is said that in late nineteenth century mining communities in South Wales, " the chapels were the true focus of local life. " (60) It is the chapels, of all associations, that have been recognised as having performed a pivotal and valued *social* function. (61) The unique inclusivity of chapel social life in terms of age and gender has been noted. Most children in Throckley, also, were said to have taken part in chapel activities. (62) The chapel was a ' safe ' place where boys and girls could meet, and provided opportunities for migrants to meet the girls in the village. (63) It was often the only institution where women felt free to socialise without censure. (64)

However, the stereotypical view that the focus of social networks in late nineteenth-century mining villages was the chapel has also been called into question. It has been noted that the true extent to which most in the community either attended, or were members of, the chapel is unclear. (65) Furthermore, Church for example has recognised geographical variations, between and within regions, commenting that Methodism " took root " in some communities, but not in others. (66) And within communities, the fact that the chapel was not always the only focus for religious social

life has not been ignored altogether . Benson points out that, "even quite small communities often housed a surprisingly large number of churches and sects ". (67) Where attention has been given to which members of the community attended which church or chapel in the literature, it is made clear that there was a tendency for an occupational segregration to emerge, so that for example in Durham, it was especially managers who attended the Wesleyan chapel. (68)

The literature therefore presents contradictory views of the social role of places of worship within late nineteenth-century mining communities from evidence based upon individual observation. On the one hand the Wesleyan chapel is presented as the only association that was an inclusive focus for the development of social networks, supporting the development of an occupational community, in which men spent their working and leisure time together. (69) On the other hand members of the community (not necessarily a majority), may have attended one of a number of churches or chapels, often according to the occupation of the men, so creating, or reinforcing, social divisions.

Unfortunately there is little statistical evidence available to make it possible to guage the degree to which places of worship were indeed foci of social interaction, or were much less important socially than other associations. (70) The only comprehensive statistical data are those which refer to attendance in 1851, so are of little assistance in assessing social importance of places of worship towards the end of the century. Nevertheless, McLeod has shown from statistical evidence relating to the city, rather than mining communities, at the end of the nineteenth century, that the majority of the population did not attend places of worship regularly, and that the poor and working class were the least likely to have gone to church or chapel. There was a greater disparity by occupational group between those who attended a place of worship, and

those who did not, than there was between which chapel or church was supported by different occupational groups. (71)

Most evidence relating to the social importance of places of worship in late nineteenth-century mining communities relies upon individual observation. The sheer volume of this evidence tends to indicate that the chapel at least, did perform an important role in the development of social networks for a wide range of members of some mining communities in the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, this view may have been overgeneralised and skewed, from evidence that has a restricted regional scope. A significant proportion of the evidence is based upon the Durham coalfield, which " by 1880 ... was one of the driving forces of the Methodist movement ". (72) The statistical evidence that is available supports the contention that places of worship, especially the chapel, may not have played a dominant role in the social lives of the majority of members of late nineteenth-century mining communities, and that places of worship may have served to emphasise division within the community, especially between those who attended places of worship, and those who did not. Taking the two kinds of evidence together, the literature presents views of the social role of places of worship in late nineteenth century mining communities that are apparently contradictory.

Although, as shown above, associational life has been taken as the embodiment of ' community ' in late nineteenth-century mining communities, it is surprising that there is scarcely any evidence to indicate how widespread such associations were, let alone their role in the community as a local social system.

Non sporting associations are probably those most often linked to late nineteenth-century mining communities, after the chapel, but again, most evidence derives from

individual observation. Those most commonly linked to mining communities focused upon music, adult education and friendly societies. The frequency with which both bands and choirs appeared in mining communities has been highlighted, but their importance for developing social links, and for whom, and where, can largely only be guessed at. (73)

Despite the centrality of reading rooms, institutes and libraries in the stereotype of a late nineteenth-century mining community, little is known of the extent to which these facilities were used, by whom, and the extent to which they had a social effect upon the community. It has been suggested that they were the most significant adult self-help institutions, and so may well have been important for some, in terms of attitudes towards the community, but equally, the only classes said to have been generally popular in mining areas were those on mining itself, or first aid. If this view is accurate, it would appear that these institutions had very limited effect upon the social networks of women, and little more on those of men, who may have reinforced social links made at work, for the limited time span over which the classes ran. (74)

Similarly,whilst the importance of friendly societies in enabling members of mining communities to protect themselves against misfortune has been accepted, little, if any, attention has been given to their role in developing social networks in those communities in the late nineteenth century. It has been shown that, " all but the poorest " in mining communities belonged to a friendly society, but in terms of closer involvement in regular social meetings, much less is established. (75)

Friendly societies were probably the only organisations that paid direct and explicit attention to nurturing the quality and strength of the interpersonal relationships of their members. Indeed they were said to have attracted their members in the first instance

through enjoyable social gatherings, and the conviviality of their meetings. (76) Given the acknowledged widespread membership of friendly societies, and the claimed centrality of associations in the development of social networks in mining communities, such focus upon the social importance of friendly society meetings means that of all associations, these were potentially the most important in terms of development of social links. (77) However only one reference has been found to miners attending benefit club meetings, and the extent to which these, or any other friendly society meetings on coalfields were social events is not known. (78) However, it is known that the larger societies did not admit women until the closing years of the nineteenth century, and it was only on the annual event that women and children could enjoy the social opportunities offered by friendly societies. (79)

There is no statistical evidence available to help establish the relative frequency of, or numbers participating in, bands, choirs or adult education classes in mining communities in the late nineteenth century. More is known about subscription to friendly societies, if not about participation in social occasions. Taking the available estimates together, it seems likely that around half of adult males subscribed. (80) And friendly societies may have been more important socially for women than has generally been acknowledged. Mills found that at least twenty six female Friendly Societies existed on the Cannock Chase Coalfield between 1878 and 1899. (81)

Clearly much more research is needed before it is possible to come to firm conclusions on the role of non sporting associations in the development of social networks in late nineteenth-century mining communities. Of the principal associations referred to above, it appears from the literature that friendly societies may have been the most significant in terms of social networks, for men, and possibly women also. Indeed, in

Scotland Wilson found that the friendly society was a more important social focus than the chapel. (82)

In common with the literature relating to the associational life dealt with above, that concerning sports clubs in mining communities is generally skewed towards the northern coalfields, and is almost entirely non statistical, so that it is very difficult to judge the impact that these clubs had upon social networks within whole communities. And the volume of literature concerned only with sports clubs in late nineteenth-century mining communities is as limited as that for non sporting associations. Even so, there is some recognition of the social importance of some clubs.

In mining communities in particular, the literature indicates that it was often the case that one community had a number of football and cricket teams, that there were often quoits teams, and that miners joined cycling and athletics clubs. (83) Team sports were especially important in terms of community development, in that in some communities spectators took pride in their local teams, which helped to foster a ' sense of belonging '. (84) It seems probable that both in terms of participation and support, football was the most important sporting association, closely followed by cricket. (85) And again, it seems that the opportunity to develop social networks through sporting associations was much more readily available for men than for women, although some evidence does indicate that women were not always entirely excluded, and that women's teams, female members of cycle clubs and female team supporters did exist. (86)

The only statistical data that are available to give a sense of the relative popularity of the different sports, or which members of the community participated, are not specific to mining communities. They suggest a high level of participation, with a sixth of adult

men, for example, belonging to a football club, and only a slightly lower proportion actively participating in cricket. Moreover most participants came from the skilled working class. (87) However, these data need to be treated with some caution, given their limited scope.

The indications from the literature are, therefore, that both football and cricket teams were of significance in late nineteenth-century mining communities in terms of the opportunities that they provided for men especially to identify with their community, and develop social links through supporting their local clubs. A much smaller proportion were more fully involved through playing, or participating in other sports, and it was less likely still that women were able to develop social networks through sport, though not impossible.

It may therefore have been then, that other associations, like the chapel, were in many mining communities less important as social centres than has been assumed from autobiographies and observational evidence taken in a limited number of locations. Clearly more evidence is needed on participation, and as far as possible on an individual level again, to determine the extent to which social networks encompassed one or more associations in a given community, and the extent to which these networks overlapped. Only then can an assessment be made on the relative extent to which a community was ' close-knit '. Equally more evidence is needed on the perceived quality of social links made through associations, to judge the extent to which these contributed to positive or negative feelings towards the community in question.

(ii) Informal Social Interaction

Informal social networks are defined as those which occur primarily in any context other than formally constituted clubs or associations. Thus social interactions that occur between neighbours or workmates in the neighbourhood, at work or during leisure time outside clubs or associations will be considered in this section.

References to the positive nature of social relationships in nineteenth- and twentieth-century mining communities are ubiquitous. Many emphasise the influence of relationships at work upon social relationships in the community as a whole - the very definition of an ' occupational community '. Some relate to the structure of social networks, noting the supposed tendency of miners to spend their leisure time together,producing a very male-orientated stereotype, although John also concludes that Lancashire pit girls seem also to have spent much of their free time together. (88) The assumption in this ' model ' of mining communities is that miners have made a positive choice to mix socially only with other miners, or pit girls with pit girls, although the dominance of mining as an occupation, and the shift system, may have meant that little choice was practically available. It is also assumed that this was indeed generally the case, although there is very little firm evidence to substantiate such a view. In this context, also, the assumed choice of spending leisure time with workmates is viewed as a positive attribute of the local social system, whereas, as will be noted below, the drawing of lines of social division could equally be viewed negatively, in terms of social closure and exclusion of some sections of the community.

It is suggested that social relationships established at the mine developed a quality of friendship and a shared set of objectives, or solidarity among those involved, strengthening work-based social networks. (89)

It is further inferred that such a sense of solidarity, camaraderie or fraternity at work had an effect not only upon the same individuals, in their social relationships in leisure time, but also upon social relationships in the whole community. Gilbert, for example, refers to, " countless contemporary accounts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ", which " contain strong expressions of local identity encompassing solidarities based upon shared experiences of work, hardship, poverty, danger ". (90)

Some writers have been more precise about the ways in which friends and neighbours contributed to this sense of solidarity, or community. Baylies suggests that in Yorkshire mining communities people, " quickly built up a sense of neighbourliness,.. and a network of ties for sharing meagre provisions, friendship and caring ". (91) Material help was especially important when there was a strike, or short time working at the pit, but the very provision of this mutual help, it is claimed, contributed to the development of a ' communal spirit ' . (92) Caring often took the form of mutual aid between women at times of ill health or childbirth - frequent but mundane tasks such as washing nappies whilst the mother was confined to bed. Emotional support was also provided when the opportunity arose. (93)

Caring sometimes involved ensuring the inclusion of newcomers to social networks in the community. (94) At Bolden Colliery, Durham, it was noted that new migrants integrated so fully that they soon thought of themselves as natives of the county. (95)

However, it is not clear that such mutual help within the community went beyond that which was perceived to be necessary for individual survival. Williamson points out, " not only were good neighbours inescapable, they were *necessary* ", and " a community without the means to buy in the help it needs from outside must meet its

needs from within ". Pitt also emphasises the common economic necessity of mutual help and ' community ' , as opposed to a vague emotional notion of interpersonal relationships in the past, " 'community ', and the solidarity by which ' community ' is generated and sustained is not an exercise in sentimentality or nostalgic aspiration for a golden age, but the expression of common interest based on concrete economic relationships derived from the exercise of human labour ". (96) Baylies, on the other hand, states, " while mutual assistance served to bind together and create a sense of community, coping still remained for many a largely individual and family affair ". (97) Conversely, it has been inferred that altruism was the norm, " underground men seem to abandon all mean ideas of consideration for personal safety, replacing them with a more idealistic form of conduct .... The observant reader will see how this high standard of conduct seeps through into family life and into community relations on the surface ". (98)

Clearly for those who wrote autobiographies, on which much of the above evidence is based, informal networks were highly valued, and mutual help took a variety of forms, was was most often noted in the context of women's networks. However interpretations vary as to the extent to which such mutual help was given at all, and when it was, whether as a matter of necessity or altruism.

Countering this stereotype presented by autobiographical evidence, there is a significant volume of research that recognises internal divisions within mining communities, and dissatisfaction with social relationships. Most frequently commented upon was the separation of the social lives and networks of men and women in mining communities. The men, it is said, spent their non-working time most often with work mates, either at the public house, club, engaged in sport or otherwise gardening,

' doing nothing ' also being popular. (99) On the other hand women's social lives were said to have been limited to 'callin' ' on neighbours, outside family demands. (100)

Also recognised were the potential divisions between different occupational groups within the mine, or between occupational groups in the village as a whole. (101)

Groups have been identified within mining communities according to how they chose to spend their leisure time. Again, the groups so-described refer to the male members of the community, although there is evidence to show that many women did regularly spend time at the public house in the late nineteenth century. (102) Two mutually exclusive groups are usually referred to : those for whom socialising was central to their lives - often at the public house, but sometimes through sport, and those who took a more ' serious ' interest in improvement, and were often involved in religious activity. (103)

Although there is no evidence about the nature of social relationships between or within these groups, to suggest conflict between them, any more than harmony within them, their very existence, in as far as it is identified in the literature, tends to be viewed negatively. Thus the divisions are described as, " fissures, despite the fact that most families were connected with the pit ", (104) or as, " lines of potential conflict ". (105)

Moreover, value judgements have frequently been made about the activities themselves. Drinking in public houses was very widely condemned as socially reprehensible, and a demonstration of miners' lack of responsibility towards their families, yet few would deny that there are few places more conducive to forging friendships and strong social networks. Heavy drinking has also been linked to other

types of behaviour, such as gambling, prostitution and rioting, that have been negatively viewed. (106) Although crime figures often show that miners were drunk, there is much less evidence that demonstrates that this led to fighting, or other antisocial behaviour. It therefore seems that not only the structure of social networks within mining communities, but also the nature of the social activity, was often interpreted in a negative way.

Beyond these divisions are more explicit statements that express negative perceptions of the quality of social relationships within mining communities. Some found mining communities claustrophobic and limiting. (107) Fighting and stealing were not unknown. (108) Exclusion of some members of the community from social networks was a reality in mining communities. (109) Isolation, and sometimes hostility, was sometimes experienced by migrants to the community. Indeed ' archetypal ' isolated mining communities have been characterised by a general attitude of suspicion and distrust of outsiders. (110) The loneliness of absentees from the community, for example girls going into domestic service, was as much part of the social experience of mining communities as the experience of those who stayed. (111)

Perceptions of the quality of relationships are also sometimes reported less positively. Beynon and Austrin have shown that whilst people in mining communities may have considered their relationships neighbourly, in that help would be given when needed, and people would regularly chat to each other, they did not necessarily view their relationships with neighbours as *close.* (112) Marshall notes that third or fourth generation migrants from Ireland to Durham still considering themselves to be Irish. (113)

The literature therefore indicates that social divisions did exist within mining communities, as did relationships that were both positively and negatively perceived. As Beynon and Austrin comment, " it is possible to understand accounts of community life which stress intolerance *and* mutuality ". (114)

Conclusion

The two stereotypes of mining communities, either as having been stable and close-knit, with broad kinship networks, and social networks enhanced by formal associations, or as having been loose-knit, with little support from kin, and social links having been individualistic, rather than co-operative in nature have been reviewed.

On the one hand, autobiographical evidence in particular supports the idea that mining communities were stable, with widespread kinship networks. Evidence indicates various ways in which kin were said to have supported each other, although statistical methods, such as those used by Anderson for late nineteenth-century Preston, have only been applied to mining communities to a very limited extent. There is considerable autobiographical and oral evidence to support the view that informal social networks were close-knit and positively perceived. The central role of associations in the social life of mining communities has often been asserted, although it is not clear to what extent this was universally, or commonly, true in the late nineteenth century.

On the other hand, there is also evidence to support the alternative stereotype of loose-knit mining communities, characterised by individualism, rather than co-operation. Statistical evidence, although limited, shows that in no late nineteenth-century mining community has it been shown that a majority of members remained

living in the same community for ten years or more. There is little evidence to suggest a lack of support by kin, but this can be partly attributed to the lack of attention on the subject in relation to mining communities. There is recognition of the existence of social subgroups within mining communities, which could have been divisive, and of negative perceptions of the quality of some social relationships. There is also evidence to suggest that associations may not have been so important universally, or even within single communities as is sometimes suggested.

The research to date that relates to late nineteenth-century mining communities as local social systems illustrates both the scope for future research, and the difficulty of generalising from the surprisingly limited amount of material that is available at present. It suggests that where it has been possible to corroborate the general applicability of individual observations by statistical methods, there has been less cause to doubt the general validity of the close-knit stereotype. As the statistical evidence has frequently ignored at least half of the population (women, children, lodgers) there is clearly a need to attempt to establish the nature of ' community ' for the whole population in at least one late nineteenth-century mining community.

Notes and References

1. R. Church, The History, p. 612.
2. Examples of the former are those by Benney, Redmayne and Williamson. Examples of the latter include the work of Colls, Campbell, Beynon and Austrin and Warwick and Littlejohn.
3. M. Benney, Charity Main, pp. 5, 82, 85, 89.
4. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, pp. 2 and 116.
5. C. Marshall, " Levels ", p. 216.
6. M. Bulmer (ed.), Mining, pp. 26, 32 and 33.
7. N. Dennis, F. Henriques and C. Slaughter, Coal, pp. 5, 79, 172.
8. R.G. Neville, " The Yorkshire ", p. 819. D. Tonks, Family and Community History, p. 49.
9. R. Church, in The History, p. 223, for example, calculated that the population gain by migration in colliery districts averaged 14% between 1871 and 1910. D. Tonks, Family and Community History, p. 47, gives an increase of population by migration in coal-mining areas as 4.9 % between 1881 and 1891, and 4.09 % between 1891 and 1901. G. Crow, however, in " The Traditional Working-Class Community Revisited ", in Sheffield Hallam University, Coal, Culture and Community, p. 45, does note that, " the dense networks of social solidarity " that developed in traditional working-class communities through a process of in-migration during the nineteenth century, " would not have been spontaneous ", and suggests that they would only have been at their height once out- migration had been established, although it is not clear upon what evidence the latter conclusion is based.
10. See for example, the work of Anderson, Crofts, Billington, Nair, Campbell, Ridgway, Warwick and Littlejohn.
11. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 20, and J. Ridgway, " Structures ", p. 69.
12. R.M. Crofts, " Madeley ", p. 28, and E. Billington, " Silverdale ", p. 123.
13. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 20.
14. A.B. Campbell, The Lanarkshire, p. 172.
15. J. Ensum, " Highley ", p. 26.
16. Ibid..
17. A.B. Campbell, The Lanarkshire.
18. D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, Coal, p. 59.
19. J. Ridgway, " Structures ", p. 72.
20. Ibid., and D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, Coal.
21. D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, Coal, p.38 and J. Benson, British, p. 127.
22. C. Marshall, " Levels ", p.303.
23. J. Benson, British.
24. Ibid..
25. R. Church, The History, p.219.
26. P.N. Jones, " Aspects ".
27. R.G. Neville, " The Yorkshire ", p.821.
28. See, for example, R. Church, The History, p. 219.

29. C. Marshall, " Levels ", p. 305 and J. Ensum, " Highley ", p. 20.
30. R.G. Neville, " The Yorkshire ", p. 809.
31. E. Billington, " Silverdale ", p. 79.
32. J. Benson, British, p. 219.
33. E. Billington, " Silverdale ", p.77.
34. A. R. Griffin, The British, p. 162.
35. B. Williamson, Class, p. 53 and J. Ensum, " Highley ", p. 25.
36. R. Church, The History, p. 224 and J. Ensum, " Highley ", p. 25.
37. M. Anderson, Family.
38. D. Gilbert, Mining, p. 5. See also Benson, British, p. 141, who notes that nineteenth century " mining families tended to be particularly close-knit ". Although Williamson, Class, p.135, concedes that the image of close-knit family life in mining communities may have an element of nostalgia and idealisation, he nevertheless claims that for all inhabitants of Throckley the family was the " most significant reference group ", and that " tight bonds of kinship " was a quality associated with mining communities.
39. R. Church, The History, p. 630. Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, Coal, p. 229, also commented that, " ' the row ' " between husbands and wives was " an institution " in Ashton, but gave them a positive gloss, describing the rows as a necessary release of tension. Williamson, Class, p. 135, too, noted that, " marital rows were short-lived " in Throckley , emphasising their insignificance.
40. B. Williamson, Class, p.12. A. Walker, Women's History Review, p. 321, for example, shows how a wife or daughter often took care of domestic matters when a miner's wife was ill.
41. A. John, " Women Workers ", p. 344.
42. R. Church, The History, p. 630, notes that it was common for grandparents to adopt an elder son. Benson, British, p. 141, concludes that, " grown-up sons and daughters did their best to look after their ageing parents " by staying in the same household if they did not marry, making their first married home with their parents, or by maintaining close ties later.
43. A. John, " Women Workers ", p. 341.
44. See, for example, Warwick and Littlejohn, Coal, and Beynon and Austrin, Masters, pp. 188, 190.
45. C. Baylies, The History. Other writers refer to similar autobiographical evidence for other regions, such as R. Church, The History, p. 231, and W.S. Howard, Labour History Review, p. 93.
46. A. John, Oral History, p. 336.
47. T. Nicholson, Labour History Review, p. 83.
48. D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, Coal, p. 73.
49. Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, Coal, p. 204, observed that many women saw kin daily. Bulmer, Mining, p. 38, concludes that for the women kinship networks were a prime sources of social contact, the only other of any significance having been calling on neighbours.
50. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 156.

51. Ibid.. A. Walker, Women's History Review, pp. 324, 325 provides evidence indicating that a significant number of unmarried girls left a South Yorkshire mining district to take up domestic employment elsewhere.
52. D.H. Lawrence, Sons.
53. See, for example, the work of R. Church, H. Beynon and T. Austrin, or J.Benson.
54. J. Ensum, " Highley ", pp. 36, 40, 42, and J. Ridgway, op. cit., pp. 263, 265, 288, 291.
55. ' Migrants ' being defined as those who had not been living in the community ten years earlier. This statistic needs to be interpreted with some caution, as the nature of the household units suggests that whole families migrated together, rather than the alternative, of migrant men having shared accommodation with wider kin already established in the community.Thus migrants moving as nuclear family units could have supported each other, but in a different way than that demonstrated, for example, by Anderson in mid century Preston.
56. The data relating to employment of fathers and sons also has to be treated with caution. Whilst both may have been miners, it does not follow that both worked in the same pit, or that the father was instrumental in getting work for his son. The data using parish records is calculated in different ways, and the interpretation depends to a large extent upon the occupational structure of the communities as a whole, so that firm conclusions cannot be drawn. See A.B. Campbell, The Lanarkshire, p. 159, and H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 21.
57. J. Ensum, " Highley ", p. 55, A.B. Campbell, The Lanarkshire, p. 172, D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, Coal, p.54.
58. For example, B. Williamson claimed that, " to come from Throckley meant precisely this - to be recognised as someone who shared in the associational life of the village, " Class, p.63. R.G. Neville also states that, " communal social activity was an essential part of the Yorkshire miner's life ", " The Yorkshire ", p. 822. R. Colls, also, concludes, " the classic mining community of the late nineteenth century took its structure - indeed took its ' community ' - from the associations and conflicts of work, culture and protest ", The Pitmen, p. 306.
59. D. Gilbert suggests, "perhaps it is time for a new corrective view of miners as archetypal communitarians " Labour History Review, p. 50. M. Benney suggests that, " miners made their demands on life as a community, not as individuals ", and when the village " felt a need, it had tried to supply it for itself ", Charity, p.122. H. Beynon and T. Austrin also stress " the ways in which various kinds of organisation reinforced the development of community attachment and feeling " in mining communities, Masters p. 364.
60. D. Gilbert, Journal of Historical Geography, pp. 262, 263; H.Beynon and T.Austrin suggest that, " the chapels, together with the clubs and co-operative stores,were the most significant of these, (organisations) and were involved in *the creation of* communities ", Masters, p. 364.

61. R. Moore, refers to Methodism's " friendship and promise of assistance " Pitmen, p. 96, whilst Church sees Methodist society in mining villages as " a community within a community " in which, " ties of friendship and kinship were as significant as the nominal demands of membership ", The History, p. 625.
62. B. Williamson, Class, p. 147.
63. J. Benson, British, p. 134 and H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 191
64. M. Benney, Charity, p. 57; J. Benson, British, p. 171; H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 191; R. Church, The History, p. 625; R.Moore, Pitmen, pp. 126 - 30 and 226 - 7; M. Mills, " Women ", p. 67.
65. J. Benson, British, p. 167, and H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 365.
66. R. Church, The History, p .625.
67. J. Benson, British, p. 165.
68. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 192.
69. See, for example, R. Moore, Pitmen, p. 156 or M. Bulmer, Sociological Review.
70. J. Benson noted how difficult it is to estimate reliably the numbers belonging to different sects, and to distinguish the different ways of belonging, British, p. 166.
71. H. McCleod, Class and Religion, pp. 25 - 27; 310 - 11.
72. C. Marshall, " Levels ", p. 261. Note also that J.Benson suggests, " it is all too easy to exaggerate the extent of Methodist influence " British, p. 167, and similarly H. Beynon and T. Austrin conclude that, " Methodism did not envelop the community " but co-existed with it , Masters, p. 365.
73. J. Benson, for example, has pointed to " a strong choral tradition especially in South Wales. Many colliery communities ran their own choral societies ", and noted that, " brass bands which seemed to spring up wherever factories were opened and pits were sunk ", British, p. 158.
74. J. Benson, British, p. 154.
75. J. Benson, British, pp. 185 and 186. However, writers on membership of friendly societies in the late nineteenth century have put more emphasis upon the the large proportion of the poor, who could not afford the regular contributions required. E. Hopkins refers to the, " *impoverished mass* quite unable to afford friendly society benefits ", Working-class, p. 54. P. Thane also concludes that only some of the working class could take advantage, " Friendly Society membership throughout the period .... came *almost exclusively* from the more secure, respectable stratum of the working class, those who earned enough, regularly enough, to contribute ", The Foundations, p. 29.
76. In the 1870's Sir George Young was of the opinion that increased financial security offered by a registered club would not be enough to persuade members to give up the feast and monthly beer available otherwise, suggesting that, " they don't see no good in a club without it, they say ", P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly, p. 122. Gosden also concludes that, " the form of social companionship offered ", was not insignificant in bringing about the growth of the affiliated orders between 1815 and 1875, ibid., p. 136.

77. P.H.J.H. Gosden has referred to the declining importance of friendly societies during the twentieth century having been partly due to the growth of other leisure activities, Self-Help, vii. E. Hopkins, Working-class, p. 55 and P. Thane, The Foundations, p. 29, suggest that the convivial meetings tended to decline towards the end of the nineteenth century. However, there appears to be little direct evidence of this, and given the continued fast growth of the orders during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it seems likely that the friendly societies still performed an important function in the social development of mining communities during this period. P.H.J.H. Gosden, Self-Help, pp. 103 and 104.
78. J. Benson, British, p. 186.
79. A. Fisk and R. Logan, Grandfather, pp. 8 and 9.
80. Nationally it has been estimated that 75% of all male adults subscribed in the 1870's, and about 50% towards the end of the century - E. Hopkins, Working-class, p. 60. Nationally 52% of miners subscribed to the Miners' Permanent Relief Funds in 1890, although the proportion drops to 11% for the West Midlands region - J. Benson, Economic History Review, pp. 415 - 417.
81. M. Mills, " Women ", p. 70.
82. G. M. Wilson, " The Miners ".
83. N. Emery, The Coalminers, p. 174; L. Moran, The History, pp. 100, 109, 110, 112; C. J. Birch, " The Leisure ".
84. J. Benson, British, p. 163; R. Holt, Sport, pp. 153,158, 161 - 8.
85. L. Moran, The History, p. 99; R. Holt, Sport, p. 154.
86. L. Moran, The History, p. 114; N. Emery, The Coalminers, p. 174; J. Benson, The Rise, pp. 125, 127, 132, 191; R. Holt, Sport, pp. 159, 173.
87. R. Holt, Sport, p. 154.
88. M. Bulmer, Sociological Review, 1975, p. 79; see also A.V. John, " Women Workers ", p. 344, who has shown that it was not only male miners who chose to spend their leisure time together - so, too did Lancashire pit girls.
89. B. Williamson, Class, p. 6, refers to the, " solidarity amongst men. " A.V. John, Journal of the Society, p. 81, notes a " camaraderie " amongst women working at brickworks on the South Wales Coalfield.
90. D. Gilbert, Labour History Review, p. 50; W.S. Howard, Labour History Review, p. 93, notes that both male and female autbiographers from mining communities, " point out how the vicissitudes of mining life create a sense of fraternity which defines them as people. "
91. C. Baylies, The History, p. 31.
92. N. Emery, The Coalminers, p. 1.
93. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, pp. 176, 184; see also A.V. John, Journal of the Society, and E. Ross, History Workshop Journal, for evidence relating to working class women generally at the turn of the century.
94. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 111.
95. C. Marshall, " Levels ", p. 295.
96. B. Williamson, Class, p. 137, and M. Pitt, " The Miners ", in Sheffield Hallam University, Coal, Culture and Community, p. 17.

97. C. Baylies, The History, p. 27.
98. H. Brown, Most Splendid, p. 13.
99. See, for example, H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 366; R. Church, The History, p. 629; J. Benson, British, p. 157; B. Williamson, Class, p. 50.
100. See H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 24, and M. Benney, Charity, p. 173. This was said to have been true for pit girls, although A.V. John, op. cit., p. 347, has shown that they also enjoyed tea parties and dancing in the 1880's.
101. See B. Williamson, Class, p. 67; H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 364; A.V. John, op. cit., p. 346.
102. R. Moore, Pitmen, p. 140; M. Mills, " Women ", p. 69.
103. See H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, pp. 81 and 187; D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, Coal, p. 85; E.P. Thompson, Journal of Sociology, B. Williamson, Class, p. 66.
104. B. Williamson, Class, p. 66.
105. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 364.
106. A.R. Griffin, The British, pp. 162 - 4.
107. See W. Foley, A Child, p. 61; S. Chaplin, Mining, p.34; H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 364.
108. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 188.
109. See D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, op. cit., p. 84, and B. Williamson, Class, p. 6.
110. M. Benney, Charity, p. 89. D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, in " The Cultural Capital of Mining Communities ", in Sheffield Hallam University, Coal, Culture and Community, pp. 54 and 59, note a subtle division between locals and incomers in ' Ashton ' in the early twentieth century, and refer, for example, to surviving jokes against ' Staffies ', who migrated to the community much earlier in the nineteenth century.
111. See H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 159 and M. Benney, Charity, p. 89.
112. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 188.
113. C. Marshall, " Levels ", p. 298.
114. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 188.

CHAPTER 4 : MADELEY PARISH AND COMMUNITY

1. The Development of Locality and Occupationally Based Communities within Madeley Parish

Madeley had not only been relatively long established as a mining community in 1891, but was also arguably one of the first in the country. (1) The earliest date at which there is a record of mining activity in Madeley parish is 1322, in Madeley Wood in the Severn Gorge, but it was not until the late sixteenth century that it is clear that mining had become a major activity in the area. (2)

(i) The Emergence of Madeley Wood as a Mining Community

Major innovations in mining technology within the parish during the seventeenth century made possible the growth of the coal trade. These included the ' Shropshire longwall method ' of extraction, and the use of a railway system to bring the coal to the wharves on the River Severn. (3) By the end of the seventeenth century the Shropshire coal trade was concentrated on 3 collieries - Broseley, Benthall and Barr (Madeley), which Nef concludes, "undoubtedly ranked among the principal mines in the whole country ". (4) Not only were many men in that part of the parish describing their main occupation as ' collier ', but it was also a growing community, with succeeding generations coming to settle in Madeley parish. By 1700, " those who lived in the Gorge were either miners, boatmen, whose main trade was carrying coal, or tradesmen who provided the infrastructure without which the expansion of mining, and later ironmaking, would not have been possible ". (5)

Using the definition of a mining community adopted by this research, the area by the Severn Gorge where mining activity was concentrated, known as Madeley Wood, clearly could be described as such from the beginning of the eighteenth century - and had retained its occupational base over nearly two hundred years up to 1891. Clark's description of settlement in the Gorge emphasises the growing resemblance of Madeley Wood to the stereotypical mining community, " There was a new group of mine managers, living fairly prosperous lives in fine houses on the riverside, as well as a whole new population of labourers living in settlements scattered around the valley, set apart from the existing communities, and industrialised in their outlook and way of life ". (6)

Madeley Wood was physically separate from the parish centre of Madeley, with its market and fair , but in other ways the settlement in Madeley Wood was very different from later mining settlements built by mine owners or speculators. The squatter cottages were scattered in contrast to the stereotypical rows of terraced housing. They were built, occupied and owned by a variety of people who may have been colliers working at any of a number of insetts,or adits, operated by a number of different mine managers, but who may also have had occupations on the river, or in trades dependant on the coal trade, rather than living in company owned housing, and working at one large mine. Moreover there was no focus to the growing community in Madeley Wood, other than the river or the mines themselves - no chapel, or other community building. Neither does the community appear to have been dominated by young single men, as characterised in the stereotype of a newly established mining community. Late seventeenth-century Madeley Wood seems rather to have been populated by family groups, due to the availability of common land on which migrants could build squatter cottages. (7)

(ii) Eighteenth-Century Developments

It was during the eighteenth century that new communities developed in the parish, beyond those already established at Madeley Wood, and at Madeley itself. The development of iron making technologies in the eighteenth century are especially associated with Coalbrookdale, a steep sided tributary valley cutting through the northern slope of the Ironbridge Gorge, within Madeley parish, where Abraham Darby I and his partners first leased a forge. (8) By the 1750's the growth of iron-making activity had lead to a growth of population to 450, and there was employment for over 500. (9) It is clear, then, that from the mid eighteenth century the ironworks at Coalbrookdale were a focus for employment not only for the nearby inhabitants, but also for people living elsewhere in the parish. At the beginning of the century, the raw materials needed for ironmaking were brought from outside the parish, and although they were later mined nearer to the ironworks, Coalbrookdale was always an ironworking, rather than a mining, community. Thus by the end of the eighteenth century a new, and substantial ironworking community had come into being in Coalbrookdale, physically separate from Madeley and Madeley Wood.

By the end of the eighteenth century another community within the parish had not only developed, but had been deliberately planned as a ' new town ' by the River Severn at the terminus of the newly constructed Shropshire Canal. By 1794 the new community had become known as Coalport, and as its name suggests, its main business was the export of coal. (10) However, of more significance for the later character of the community, new china works were established, which became probably, " the largest and most expensive porcelain producing estate in Great Britain during the early years of the 19th century ". (11) Skilled workers migrated from Stoke-on-Trent. (12) In addition a number of smaller industries had been encouraged to make use of the land -

a timber yard, a bag factory and a rope works, all of which provided further employment. (13) It was therefore not a mining community, although it was still dependent upon the coal trade for its existence.

Yet another separate settlement came into being in Madeley parish before the end of the eighteenth century which resulted from the building of the first iron bridge in the world in 1777, which lay across the River Severn at the western end of the parish. The settlement that grew by the bridge on the eastern bank of the river was west of Madeley Wood, and south of Coalbrookdale, but physically separate from both. (14) It became an important trading centre and a fashionable place to live for a growing population of tradespeople. In 1805 Ironbridge was first named as a postal address, and the district had become recognised locally as having a distinctive and separate identity within the parish, whose function was primarily as a market centre. (15)

Madeley Wood remained an important and growing community throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1753 it comprised half of the parish's total population (over 170 families), whereas only a fifth lived at Coalbrookdale (about 70 families). (16) Ongoing innovations in both mining and in ironworking in the second half of the century by the Madeley Wood partnership ensured Madeley Wood's continuing importance, so that by the end of the century its population had risen to 3,500. (17) By the end of the century, although jobs had been created in lead smelting and iron working, it was still principally a mining community, as it had been at the end of the seventeenth century. The greatest difference was the development of social centres. A Methodist Chapel had been built in 1776, and the community had become a major centre and inspiration for Non-Conformity in the region, and the country - indeed it was described as, " a kind of Mecca to Methodists ". (18) There was a school

at the Lloyds, and by 1783 there were eighteen public houses in the parish as a whole, the majority in Madeley Wood. (19)

During the eighteenth century, then, three clearly distinguishable communities had been added to those that had been established at the beginning of the century, at Madeley and Madeley Wood. It was only at Madeley Wood that the main occupation was mining, but all the other communities relied upon the coal mined in the parish for their existence - either for ironworking, for the export of coal, or for the existence of the iron bridge.

(iii) Nineteenth-Century Developments

The Madeley Wood mines continued to be an important focus for employment in that part of the parish into the nineteenth century. New cottages were built at the Lloyds, and the mines in this part of Madeley Wood were still the most active in the early nineteenth century. (20) Indicative of this continued growth was the fact that a New Connexion chapel had been built by 1829, and the Wesleyan chapel rebuilt a little later. Even so, membership of the chapel fluctuated. In 1837 there were 270 members (out of a population of three thousand), but this number had fallen to 197 three years later. (21) It appears that even in a stronghold of Methodism, commitment may not have been has strong as suggested in other coalfields. By the 1830's the Bedlam furnaces by the river were closed, and by the 1860's, the adit mines in Madeley Wood were exhausted. Towards the end of the century, almost the only employment remaining within the community was at the three brickworks. (22)

With the working out of the adits, the Madeley Wood Company had sunk new mines at Blist's Hill, in a valley between Madeley Wood and Madeley itself in 1780, resulting

in increasing trend of people walking north to work in the mines. Along with new furnaces, as well as two brick and tile works at Blist's Hill during the 1830's, the company had built 20 cottages, so creating a new settlement. (23) There were two public houses nearby, but no shops, or place of worship, so Blist's Hill was by no means self sufficient. (24) Despite the fact that only one seam was mined for coal by 1872, the pits remained the main employer until 1891, due to the extraction of clays for the brick and tile works. (25) The latter activity ensured the continuation, though not the growth, of Blist's Hill as a settlement. The only development within the community was an Anglican meeting place, which remained the only place of worship nearby. (26)

The Coalbrookdale Company remained the largest employer in the parish. Despite fluctuations in the demand for iron, Coalbrookdale remained an industrial community, thriving on its reputation. There was evidence of a " steady growth ..... in the number of small houses, built perhaps for artisans whose skills were well rewarded and who thus had the means to purchase them ". (27) The community was at its peak mid century. At the 1851 Great Exhibition, Coalbrookdale was described as the biggest ironworks in the world, with three to four thousand employees. (28) In 1853 the imposing Coalbrookdale Literary and Scientific Institute was inaugurated, providing a model for similar adult education centres in the parish. However, after the greatest level of production of pig iron was achieved in 1869, the collapse of ironworking at Coalbrookdale was described as " spectacular ", and the last three decades of the century as being ones of " precipitate decline ". (29) Nevertheless, the ironworks continued to be a major employer in the parish throughout the century.

During the early nineteenth century Coalport grew in importance as a place of work, and new meeting places were established, although the number of inhabitants did not

grow a great deal. This was principally due to the success of the chinaworks, which employed five hundred by 1850, in a community of only 400. Many people commuted across the river from Jackfield, and by the middle of the century many women worked in Coalport, but lived elsewhere in Madeley. The trade in coal and other industrial goods on the Severn, and on the Shropshire Canal, also grew in importance, as did the local production of coal. (30) Coalport had become the most important port in Shropshire, and yet it remained a relatively small community within Madeley. (31) A Wesleyan chapel had been built, there was an Anglican meeting place, and several public houses, and a Literary Institute established in 1856 . (32) The chinaworks continued to be an important employer throughout the century, but nevertheless Clark and Alfrey conclude that Coalport was " far from an autonomous settlement ". (33) With the construction of the railways mid century, the traffic at the canal wharves fell immediately. (34) Coalport's original raison d'etre had therefore soon disappeared, and the main employment in the community was still at the chinaworks.

Like the communities described above, Ironbridge did not change in character through the first half of the nineteenth century, but became more clearly defined as a separate entity. It grew as a fashionable place to live, and with the building of an Anglican church in 1839. The move of the market, and the fact that by mid century " the range of trades and shops in Ironbridge was greater than that of surrounding towns ", changed the focus of retailing in the parish away from central Madeley. (35) Nevertheless, the only meeting places remained the Anglican church, and the inns and hotels.

The last community to have developed in Madeley was Aqueduct in the north of the parish. It grew as a result of the exploitation of the deeper coal and ironstone deposits at Madeley Court by James Foster, who soon decided to build three furnaces and a

brick and tile works nearby. (36) Like Coalbrookdale and Coalport at this period, Aqueduct contained a smaller resident working population than workforce, with over 500 people working there, principally in the mines and ironworks, but also in the brick and tile works, and on the canals. Aqueduct also became established as a partially self sufficient community by the middle of the century with the building of a Chapel of Ease by James Foster in 1851, a Primitive Methodist Chapel in 1850 and The Three Furnaces public house.

The centre of the parish, Madeley, remained an important social focus. There was a range of shops and professional services , the parish church was well attended, and the Wesleyan Methodists, Primitive Methodists and New Connexion all built chapels in Madeley that together would accommodate over one thousand seven hundred people. (37) The first Catholic church in Shropshire was built here mid century. And the Anstice Memorial Hall and Working Men's Institute, built later in the century, provided a venue for classes and social events for the whole parish. (38) As the mines further south were becoming exhausted, the deeper seams nearer to the centre of Madeley were exploited, and the Madeley Wood Company sank new pits at Halesfield and Shawfield in 1840, and at Kemberton in 1864. (39) Mining therefore became an increasingly important source of employment in central Madeley. This applied to women also, who were employed to extract iron nodules from the clay, which was at least as important a product from the mines as coal.(40)

In the parish of Madeley, the first half of the nineteenth century was characterised first and foremost by a massive increase in total population - much greater in absolute terms than any previous increase. The period of increase of population mirrored the increase in the production of pig iron. However, the last three decades of the century were characterised by the precipitate decline of iron production, coal mined and

population size. By the date of this research, 1891, decline was therefore well established.

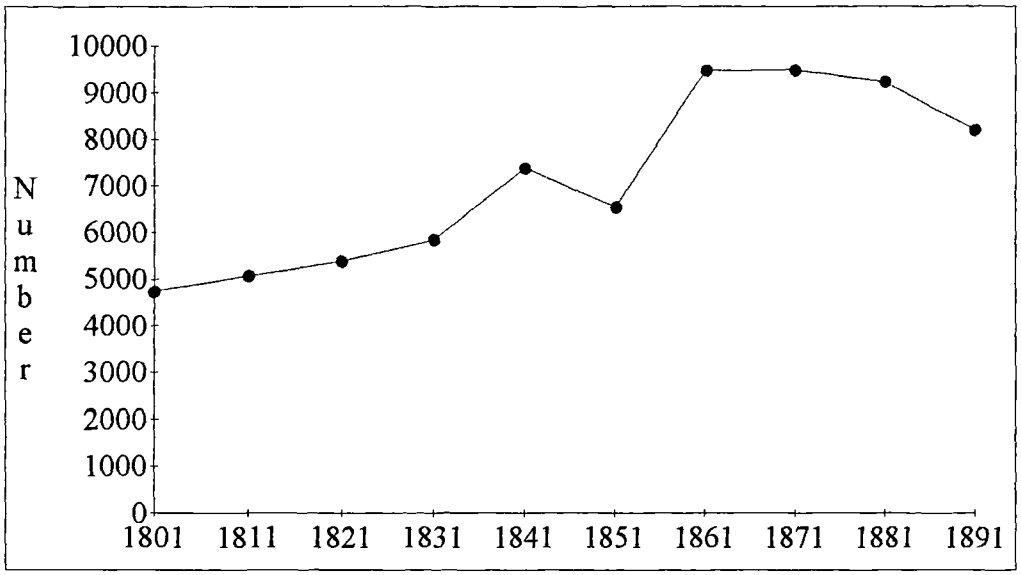


Chart 4.1 : Population change in Madeley (A.P., C.P., and U.R.D.)

Source : Victoria County History of Shropshire, Vol. 2, p. 224.

A second change was the location of more employment opportunities in mining and ironworking, especially in central Madeley, Blist's Hill and Aqueduct. Partly as a consequence, it became the case increasingly that people walked further to work, and it became more common to work at a different place to one's neighbours. Thus, for example, miners from Madeley Wood more often walked to the newer, deeper mines further north and people, especially women, were walking southwards and eastwards to work at the chinaworks in Coalport. (41) Ironworkers were walking to Coalbrookdale, and to Aqueduct from elsewhere in the parish, and from neighbouring parishes.

Despite the continued increase in total population, the overall increase in the production of both coal and iron in the first half of the century, and the growth of the chinaworks, there were greater incentives to move away from the parish. Contemporaries noted that the pay for colliers and ironworkers in Shropshire was lower than for similar areas elsewhere by 1815, and that by the 1840's groups of colliers were going to work in Lancashire, recruited by agents of mineowners. (42) Thus a third characteristic was emigration from the parish, even from relatively early in the century.

A fourth characteristic was the growth of buildings that could act as social centres. Nine new chapels were built within the parish, and the number of public houses in the parish also rose dramatically in the first half of the nineteenth century, from eighteen to fifty two. (43) During the second half of the century Literary and Scientific Institutes were erected throughout the parish, in Coalbrookdale, central Madeley and Coalport.

2. Definition of the study area

By the mid to late nineteenth century Madeley was not therefore the stereotypical mining community often portrayed in the literature, with a parish church, one or two chapels and one, or only a few, employers of miners, with little alternative employment. There were a number of physically separate communities, each with a distinctive pattern of employment, some dominated by employment other than mining, and each with at least one chapel or meeting place, and several public houses. And these communities had evolved over up to three hundred years.

In this section, the appropriate size of the research community, and its geographical boundaries, will be determined, in the light of the distribution of the population,

employment and social patterns outlined above, and the approach of the research, described in chapter two. The study of a community has been defined as ' the study of the social relationships between all individuals living within a given locality ', and a ' mining community ' as one in which the largest group of adults in full time paid employment is occupied in the mining industry. In any one community, social contacts may be frequent, and highly valued by most members of the community, and networks show a high degree of overlap, which would typify a ' close-knit ' community. Alternatively social contacts may be infrequent, and not greatly valued, and networks not show a high degree of overlap - a community which could be described as ' loose-knit '.

It is therefore not a question of determining whether some tangible quality sometimes referred to as ' community ', or ' a sense of community ' does or does not exist - what may be termed as an oversimplistic ' binary ' approach, but a question of finding the most appropriate means of describing and analysing the nature of the social contacts and relationships that do exist within every given locality inhabited by people. As Nicholson has commented, " communities started to happen, and continued to happen, from the moment people entered that shared local space; sometimes they assumed a stronger sense of cohesion than at other times, but this ebb and flow in size and strength did not mean that they move in and out of some mythical state of grace called ' community ', rather like football teams might be promoted and relegated between higher and lower divisions ". (44)

It follows that any ' community ' will not have a clear physical beginning and ending. Social contacts will occur over a wide region, but are likely to have become less frequent, and be less likely to develop, with increasing distance from the community, or location, in question. The ' boundary ' needs to be recognised as being porous, and

to define an area that encompasses a population of an appropriate size, for which data are available, and within which there was opportunity for social networks to develop.

The location of the boundary of a community that is to be studied in the late nineteenth century is then governed by two sets of factors. The first set comprises pragmatic considerations. If the research is to be based upon examination of individual social networks, then the total population to be included is a limiting factor. It has been shown from modern sociological research how difficult it is to handle the data generated by even one individual's social network. (45) Despite the gaps in data in historical research, how much more difficult to handle is the data from a social group. In a densely populated mining or industrial community the problem is acute, and it is largely for this reasons that some researchers of Victorian cities have confined their work to Enumeration Districts within the city. (46) In the case of late nineteenth-century Madeley, the population of the whole parish was eight thousand one hundred and seventy seven; even for a substantial piece of research, this number is too unwieldy for analysis by individuals.

The other major pragmatic factor is the way in which the data to be used has been collected. In the late nineteenth century the only comprehensive data available at an individual level was the census, delimited by parish boundaries, and subdivided into Enumeration Districts. If a locality based community were to be defined that was smaller in size than an entire parish, it is necessary to be able to clearly locate households at consecutive censuses, if persistence data were to be included in the research, whether delimited by Enumeration District or street.

The second set of factors is concerned with choosing a boundary to the study area are those that are meaningful in terms of research on social networks within a given

location. It has been argued in chapter two that the contemporary perceptions of the people living in the area should be the foremost consideration, and that in the late nineteenth century these can be assessed most accurately by analysis of the names of locations used to describe place of birth in the census data. This has the prime virtue of being comprehensive, and in addition individuals, or heads of household, were given a free choice of the name of the place they chose to be entered. Within Madeley, Madeley itself, Madeley Wood, Aqueduct, Blists Hill, Coalport, Coalbrookdale and Ironbridge are all given by large numbers of inhabitants as their place of birth in 1881 and 1891, and are clearly perceived as distinct, separate locations, which would be expected to be generally recognised. Occasionally, and particularly in the 1881 census, even smaller scale places, such as the Lloyds, or Lincoln Hill are given. It is not surprising that this should have been more often the case in the earlier census - it would be reasonable to expect that earlier in the century people travelled less far to work, and had less reason to move outside their immediate neighbourhood, for example to a particular non-conformist chapel, or sports club, so it is more likely that people would have defined their neighbourhood, or place of birth more closely. (47) However, these smaller scale definitions of communities do not appear to have been used with great frequency or consistency in the census in 1891, so have been excluded from the consideration of the boundary of the entire area to be included in the research.

Another source that could give an indication of contemporaries' perceptions of community boundaries are trade directories, although they only reflect the perceptions of a segment of the community. As trade directories were published for the use of those with an interest in business, they only reflect the perceptions of the publishers of which places should be considered as separate commercial centres, which did not

necessarily coincide with communities, based upon social networks. Nevertheless, they are a useful supplement to census data.

Taking the four directories nearest to the study date (1891), which were published between 1885 and 1896 by three different publishers, all of the larger communities within the parish referred to above (Madeley Wood, Ironbridge, Aqueduct and Coalport) are dealt with discretely, confirming contemporary perceptions of them as separate entities. (48) Neither Blist's Hill, the Lloyds nor Lincoln Hill are mentioned individually. This is not surprising, as none had shops or traders, but it does serve to confirm these settlement clusters as the smallest possible separate community.
In all of the directories Coalbrookdale and Ironbridge are listed separately from Madeley, refelecting the fact that all three centres had an Anglican church, their own shops and trades, with a Literary and Scientific Institute both at Madeley, and for Coalbrookdale, at Ironbridge. There is therefore a clear perception of a split between the eastern and western sides of the parish.

In three out of four directories Coalport, Aqueduct and Madeley Wood are dealt with under ' Madeley ' itself, suggesting that these smaller communities had stronger links with Madeley on the eastern side of the parish, than with Ironbridge or Coalbrookdale to the west. There is some ambivalence in the way that these smaller communities were apparently perceived, however. Coalport is listed separately, in one directory, and in another Madeley Wood was included under Ironbridge in one directory. Other data are therefore needed to make a decision on which part of the parish it is most appropriate to include these two centres.

The trade directories not only help to clarify contemporary perceptions of communities, but also begin to suggest a heirarchy of commercial centres, which may

also have corresponded to a hierarchy of social networks. The smallest communities comprised small clusters of cottages, with no more than one public building, such as a school, or public house. Neighbours had the opportunity to strengthen social networks on a daily basis. At the next level of the hierarchy neighbours also met often, and most of their needs were met locally. The larger centres were visited less frequently by most members of the community, perhaps weekly, for the market, or to attend a particular chapel, friendly society or other group meeting. People would have been more likely to have met more casual acquaintances in these centres, in looser social networks. The heirarchy suggested by the trade directories within Madeley parish would have consisted of Blist's Hill and the Lloyds at the lowest level, Aqueduct, Madeley Wood and Coalport at the next level, and Madeley, Ironbridge and Coalbrookdale at the higher, less frequently visited level. (49)

Having considered perceptions of communities' geographical locations, as suggested by declared places of birth, and by trade directories as a secondary source, a second group of considerations need to be taken into account to determine the boundary of the research community. These include the opportunities that were available in the area for social interaction to have occurred, and within which social relationships could have developed. These can be summarised within the two contexts of social interaction identified above - informal (in the neighbourhood, or at work) and formal (in community associations). (50)

The opportunity to communicate with neighbours, as governed by the distribution of settlement is a factor that governed the structure and strength of social networks for every member of the community, so is relatively important in this context. In all the communities in Madeley parish identified above, the housing is clustered to some degree, and the communities are relatively clearly separated from each other, so that

the people living within each community are likely to have had much more opportunity to talk to each other in their day to day business, than to people in neighbouring communities, even though most of the clusters within Madeley were no more than half a mile apart. The only partial exception was Madeley Wood, which had almost joined with Ironbridge on its western side towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Another opportunity for informal social interaction was at market, or retail centres. Reference has been made to the move of the market from Madeley to Ironbridge. The separation of Ironbridge and Coalbrookdale from Madeley in the trade directories reflects the division of trade and professional facilities between the two centres. Trinder comments on this division, " Madeley and Ironbridge divided facilities which together might have made a more lively and active town ". (51) Thus people in the parish were likely to have visited one of the two on a roughly weekly basis for the market or shops. (52) Those who lived in Aqueduct or Coalport lived closer to Madeley , those living in Coalbrookdale were much more likely to have visited Ironbridge, and the inhabitants of Madeley Wood lived closer to Ironbridge, but still less than half a mile from Madeley. Again, the evidence links Madeley Wood more closely with Ironbridge, than with Madeley.

Most associations in the parish met in only one central venue. The principal exceptions to this were the places of worship and the football teams. In Madeley it has been shown that all of the communities identified using the census data had a chapel by the middle of the nineteenth century, and towards the end all had an Anglican meeting place, if not a church. Thus people only needed to go outside their immediate community to worship if they belonged to one of the smaller groups, such as the Primitive Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists or Catholics. Only Madeley centre provided all of these. It is therefore not possible to group the smaller communities

together on the basis of places of worship. Similarly, all the communities but the smallest had football teams, with larger clubs based at Madeley and Ironbridge, emphasising the east - west split within the parish.

It appears, therefore, that the division of facilities in the parish between Madeley and Ironbridge was likely to have contributed towards a division between the eastern and western sides of the parish as far as frequency of movement was concerned, and therefore social interaction, and patterns of social networks. If people needed to move out of their immediate neighbourhood, either to work, to shop, or to worship, it was much more likely that they would have moved north or south to other centres in the parish than east to west, as the deeply cut valleys leading to the Severn made east to west movement much more difficult. This must have reinforced the social separation of the parish in an east - west direction, suggested by the separation of the two parts of the parish in the trade directories, and by the fact that churches were built at Coalbrookdale and at Ironbridge, in adddition to the older church at Madeley.

Finally, if the community is to be defined on an occupational basis, the employment structure must be of prime concern. In the stereotypical mining communities in the late nineteenth century there was only one major source of employment, and due to the isolation and company ownership of the housing, it would have been impossible for many people to have worked elsewhere. In communities in which the employment pattern is less clear cut, and there are alternative occupations available, a judgement has to be made prior to detailed research as to which kind of employment is dominant, and whether the community falls into the chosen definition of an occupational community.

In this research, a mining community is defined as one in which the largest number of those in paid full time employment is engaged in mining. In Madeley it has been shown that Coalbrookdale was an ironworking community in which there was no mining activity, and nor was there any at Ironbridge. At both Madeley Wood and at Coalport there was housing owned by the Madeley Wood Company, but no mining activity in the communities themselves in 1891, although some did walk to work in mines in Blists Hill or Madeley. It was only at Blist's Hill, Aqueduct and Madeley itself that there was ongoing mining activity by the second half of the nineteenth century.

Taking all the influencing factors and evidence above into consideration, this research will confine the study area to the communities to the east of the parish, which were also dominated by mining. These communities were defined as separate localities by people at the time, and together were of a population size appropriate to the approach of this research. The research will not include Madeley Wood, which lies between Ironbridge and Madeley centre, as most indicators link that community to Ironbridge, and it was not dominated by mining in 1891. Likewise Coalport will be excluded, although it lies on the margin of the parish on the eastern side, as it had never been dominated by mining. Furthermore, it was not entered under Madeley in all trade directories. The study area therefore includes central Madeley itself, Aqueduct, and the smaller communities of Blists Hill and the Lloyds, but excludes Madeley Wood, Coalport, Ironbridge and Coalbrookdale.

Notes and References

1. B. Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, p. 10, states that, " the coal trade was to provide the foundation for the development of the Shropshire iron trade in the 18th century ", and in The Industrial Archaeology, p.102, that, " it was the trade in coal on the Severn from the wharves in the Ironbridge Gorge which was the basis of the Coalfield's prosperity from the late 16th century until after 1850 " . It was the world-wide significance of the developments in ironworking in Madeley parish, dependant upon developments in coal mining, that lead to the recognition of the Ironbridge Gorge, within the parish, as a World Heritage Site in 1986, and the parish's claim to have been the ' Cradle of the Industrial Revolution.'
2. Dr. Wanklyn West Midlands Studies, pp. 87 - 99, concludes that " the Severn coal trade was well under way by 1580 ", and has shown that John Brooke, lord of the manor of Madeley was exploiting his coal resources before 1570. See also B. Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, pp. 6 - 7.
3. Dr. Wanklyn, West Midlands Studies, p. 5, has shown that in the 1640's drift mines up to 1,000 yards long were in use, which suggests that the method of mining which was later called ' the Shropshire longwall method ', and came to be used throughout the country, could well have originated by this time in Madeley parish. Previously, and elsewhere, coal was mined in shallow bell pits. The longwall method meant that much more coal could be gleaned from one pit, where a seam was exposed on a steep valley side. See also B. Trinder, The Industrial Archaeology , p.109. There were also at least 5 railways leading to the Severn in the area by 1700 (B. Trinder, The Industrial Archaeology, p. 103).
4. B. Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, p. 8, and J.U. Nef, The Rise, pp. 65, 66.
5. B. Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, p. 186.
6. C. Clark, Ironbridge, p. 28.
7. B. Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, p. 188.
8. In 1700 Coalbrookdale had one furnace, five dwelling houses and a forge or two. Sir Basil Brooke, who had previously owned the site, had pioneered the manufacture of steel there in England, and there was therefore already a group of skilled iron-workers living in Coalbrookdale. See Dr. Wanklyn, West Midlands Studies, p. 5.
9. A small proportion of the housing at Coalbrookdale was built by the Darbys, well known as Quakers and philanthropists. For more detail see B. Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, p. 191, 193, and The Industrial Archaeology, p. 101; also C. Clark, Ironbridge, p. 41.
10. B. Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, p. 83, calculates that by 1800 50,000 tons of coal a year were being exported.
11. Ibid., p. 127.
12. Ibid., p. 182. Thomas Telford related that 35 houses had been built at Coalport by 1802, and that more were needed for the people employed at the china works, Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust, Coalport, p. 1.

13. C. Clark, Ironbridge, p.101.
14. Visitors from all over the country had already been attracted to Madeley parish, to hear John Fletcher, the famous Wesleyan Methodist, and also to witness the sight of Bedlam Furnaces in operation. Now the bridge provided yet another reason to come to Madeley. Thus the number of inns and hotels grew near the bridge.
15. C. Clark, Ironbridge, p. 115.
16. G.C. Baugh (ed.), Victoria County History, p. 27.
17. C. Clark, Ironbridge, p. 115. The partnership was the first in the coalfield to use a steam engine to pump water out of their mines at the Lloyds, part of Madeley Wood by 1720, enabling more coal and iron ore to be extracted. As important was the construction of the Bedlam Furnaces in 1757/8, and the use there of steam power to pump water out of the Severn to run the water wheels, which powered the bellows, thus avoiding the problems posed by seasonal variations in the flow of water experienced at Coalbrookdale, C. Clarke, Ironbridge, p. 47. By 1770 the company also had brickworks at Madeley Wood, Madeley Field and the Lloyds, but despite all this activity no terraces were constructed for the labour force within the area of Madeley Wood, apart from Smelthouse Row, by the new lead smelter.
18. B.Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, p. 160.
19. G.C. Baugh, Victoria County History, p. 32.
20. I.J. Brown, Industrial, and G.C. Baugh, Victoria County History, p. 28.
21. MM 98.7 vf., SSRC, Madeley Wood Methodist Church, Shropshire, 1837 - 1937.
22. Ordnance Survey, 1883 edition.
23. C. Clark, Ironbridge, p. 169, and B. Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, p. 323.
24. J. Doody, Salopian, p. 6.
25. C. Clark and J. Alfrey, Coalport, p. 40.
26. J. Randall, History, pp. 166,7.
27. C. Clark, Ironbridge, p. 41.
28. Ibid., p. 108.
29. B. Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, pp. 155 and 239.
30. B. Trinder, The Industrial Archaeology, p. 168.
31. G.C. Baugh, Victoria County History, p. 30.
32. J. Randall, History, p. 302.
33. C. Clark and J. Alfrey, Coalport, p. 99.
34. B. Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, pp. 152,4.
35. C. Clark, Ironbridge, p. 118.
36. By the middle of the century Foster had built 6 rows of four houses each, built to high standards for the time, to attract skilled workers, N.J. Clarke, Shropshire, p.21. A further twelve houses were built by charter masters, but these 36 dwellings could only have accommodated a small proportion of the working population of 138.
37. J. Randall, History, p. 166.
38. Ibid., p. 301, and G.C. Baugh, Victoria County History, p. 33.

39. I.J. Brown, The Mines, p. 71.
40. Ibid., p. 89.
41. C. Clark and J. Alfrey, Coalport, p. 118 and I.J. Brown, Industrial.
42. B. Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, p. 182 and 203.
43. G.C. Baugh, Victoria County History, p. 32.
44. T. Nicholson, Labour History Review, p. 82.
45. J. Boissevain, Network, pp. 146,7.
46. See, for example, R. Dennis, Transactions, and Journal .
47. See P. Gould and R. White, Mental Maps, for a full consideration of perception of geographical space.
48. Kelly's 1885 and 1895, Porter's 1888 and Wilding's 1896. Shaw, Historical Geography, provides a helpful overview of the use of trade directories in historical geography. Their application to social and demographic research, the analysis of retail patterns and urban heirarchies are discussed, but at the time that the paper was published there had been no application to *perceptions* of the location and size of communities, as in this research.
49. The concept of a heirarchy of different sized settlements is one that has been central to geographical thought, and Central Place Theory, as it is known, has provided a useful model to help to explain the distribution of settlement. it is clearly explained and developed in J. A. Everson and B.P. Fitzgerald, Settlement, and in R.J. Chorley and P. Haggett, Socio-Economic Models. This basic model could also be developed to describe the development of social networks spatially, and is therefore of value to this research.
50. B. Trinder, The Industrial Revolution, p. 198.
51. Whilst it is relatively easy to determine the main centres of employment, it has been shown that towards the end of the nineteenth century both men and women were likely to have walked further to work, and could well have worked outside the community in which they lived. It is therefore difficult to be able to say with confidence where members of the community worked at the outset of the research. Therefore social networks at work cannot be included as a factor in deciding community boundaries.
52. For a description of Ironbridge market, see A.E. Evans, Wellington Journal and Shrewsbury News, 20th July, 1957.

PART 3 - ANALYSIS

Part three comprises three chapters, each devoted to analysing the data relating to the research community in 1891, as closely as possible to an individual level. As argued in chapter two, it is only by such detailed analysis that a community can be relatively well understood as a local social system. Each of the principal criteria identified in that chapter will be the subject of a chapter in part three - persistence, kinship and social networks.

Persistence and kinship have both been identified in the literature as prime factors affecting the nature of social networks, of which kin are also part. The final chapter considers the networks themselves, in two sections - those focused upon associations, termed ' formal social networks ', and those unrelated to associations, termed ' informal social networks. ' In each chapter the analysis will include a consideration of the ways in which the community could be described as close-knit or loose-knit, and of the extent to which the data supports or contradicts the relevant literature.

CHAPTER 5 - PERSISTENCE

Reference has been made in chapter two to the work of sociologists that has indicated the effect that length of time resident in one locality, or persistence, of members of a community has had upon the nature of the social networks within that community.

For the historian, the principal source of information on the residence of whole populations is the census, discussed also in chapter one. It is not, however, the only possible source, and it can be used in a number of ways. As comprehensive as possible a picture of the stability of the community in 1891 will be arrived at by taking three approaches. First, for the whole population over the age of ten persistence will be considered over two time spans - over the lifetime of the individual, and over ten years. Secondly, families will be considered, identifying shorter term movements from the place of birth of children within each family. Thirdly, in accordance with the inclusive approach of this research, the persistence of children under the age of ten will be considered, using both school and census-based records. These sources provide data on persistence over the children's lifetimes, and also give a further indication of shorter term movements of family units.

1. Community Members over the Age of Ten

Two approaches are to be taken to gain as full a picture as possible of the extent to which adult community members either remained living within the community, or returned to it . First, place of birth data from the census provide information over individual lifetimes, which alone can give an indication of the extent to which the

population could have been ' born and brought up ' within the community and parish - of central importance for the development of social networks.

The second approach is more precise, in that it is possible to measure the extent to which individuals living within the boundaries of the community were also living in the same community ten years previously, at the date of the previous census. By this means an assessment can be made of persistence within the community alone, over a shorter time span. The opportunity to develop social networks within the community itself, over the ten years prior to the research date, is clearly also relevant to the development of social networks.

(i) Lifetime Persistence

There are two potential difficulties allied to the use of place of birth data from the census. The first is their accuracy. Discrepancies between consecutive censuses of up to 15.7 %, up until 1881 have been found. (1) However this research has found a much lower rate - 0.96 %, perhaps due to more accurate knowledge by individuals of their own place of birth towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Second is the possibility that individuals have moved out of the area and back again during the intervening years, thus giving a misleading impression of stability. This has been little recognised in relation to the use of place of birth data, which has often been assumed to provide a straightforward picture of stability or direct migration from place of birth, to the parish in which the individual is living at the given census date. Clearly it is more than possible that individuals moved on any number of occasions between parishes from the time of birth to the given census date. Indeed it has been shown in the more detailed work on decennial persistence that this was indeed often the case, as discussed in chapter three, and below.

Nevertheless, inclusion of place of birth data can be justified in three ways. First, although individuals may have moved a number of times between birth and the census date, so clearly they may have remained resident within that community for the whole period. Place of birth data can therefore give an indication of the proportion of the population who *could have* remained within the community over a period greater than ten years - even for a lifetime, and therefore had even greater opportunities to develop social networks.

Second, oral evidence shows us that whether individuals had been born and brought up within the community was, in some cases at least, perceived to have great social significance. Hence the comment of the miner from the Upper Swansea Valley, who described his community as " very close-knit ", but *within which*, " there was that distinction between people who had come .... as they said, " from abroad ", people who had come, and the " natives ". There was a clear line of demarcation between us. Very often it could be described as racialism ". (2)

Third, even if individuals did move any number of times between birth and the census date, it may well be pertinent in terms of social relationships that they returned to live in their place of birth. This may have been a positive choice, giving an indication of individuals' perceptions of social relationships within the community, and even if not, the fact that the individual had previously lived within the community for a period of time is likely to affect the nature of the social networks established on return. Place of birth will therefore be considered, first for all those over the age of 10 living within the community in 1891 as a whole, followed by a breakdown according to occupation, and according to age, to identify patterns according to these two variables.

(a) The Overall Pattern

It has been shown in chapter three that the statistical data relating to late nineteenth century mining communities indicate that mobility was more common than stability (in other words, less than half of the population had been born in the parish in which they lived in the year of the census), although the data varied according to the size of spatial unit chosen, the extent to which the whole community was included, the settlement pattern and the length of time that the coalfield had been established.

For the research community in 1891, over half of the inhabitants over ten years of age had been born in the parish of Madeley (56.94 %). This figure therefore supports, if somewhat tentatively, the view of mining communities as having stable populations, with over half having either built up social relationships locally over a lifetime, or having returned to a community where they were likely to have previously formed social links. If the spatial unit is changed, to include neighbouring parishes whose centres are within 5 miles of the centre of the Madeley community, 71.17 % of inhabitants over ten years of age were born locally. This evidence suggests that a majority of community members could have had lifetime social links with others in the community, but that for a substantial proportion of people, these were likely to have been relatively tenuous, stretching into neighbouring parishes, rather than within the community itself.

It is difficult to make meaningful comparisons with place of birth data for other late nineteenth-century mining communities, given the variations outlined above. Most particularly, there are only two pieces of research that include women, for which the data also refer to 1891. The data for Madeley are very close to those for Lower Gornal, also well established as a mining community, where just under half of coalminers and their wives had been born in the same parish, but over four fifths

had been born in nearby parishes. (3) However by contrast, in Highley in 1891, a developing mining community, under a quarter of the community had been born in the parish. (4) These data add weight to the picture of long term social links made over an area wider than that of a densely populated parish for a majority of community members in well established mining areas.

Comparing the data for the research community in 1891 to the figure calculated for all residents of the whole parish of Madeley in 1851, there is not a significant difference. (5) Croft's data relate to a larger area, so it would be expected that the proportion born locally would be higher. In addition, Croft's calculation includes those parts of the parish of Madeley dominated by either iron manufacture, the chinaworks, or by retail activity, so the resulting statistic is affected by the occupational pattern, which is an important factor that will be turned to below.

(b) By Occupation

Few researchers have analysed place of birth within a population by occupational group, yet it will be shown here that there are significant variations in the proportion of the population having been born and brought up in, or having returned to, the parish in which they were born. (6) This evidence supports the hypothesis that occupation is likely to have had an important effect upon the characteristics of the social networks that developed in any one community.
If the proportion of each occupational group to have been born within the parish of Madeley is to be compared to the percentage for the community population as a whole, it is necessary to take note at the outset of the relative size of each group, as this controls the figure for the whole population.

Occupation	% Born Madeley	% Born Madeley/ neighbouring parishes	% Born Shropshire	Total
Agriculture	20.73	35.36	82.92	82
Building	62.16	70.26	81.07	37
Mining (M)	72.46	86.74	96.1	483
Quarrying & Brickmaking	68.54	78.7	87.57	124
Mining (M1)	73.81	86.06	95.53	359
Manufacture (MF)	66.99	78.25	85.95	506
Iron (MF4)	64.28	80.35	91.95	112
China/tile(MF7)	68.24			233
Transport	59.25	68.5	83.31	54
Dealing	59.4	80.19	97.02	101
Industrial Service	49.41	62.35	87.05	85
Gen. labourer (IS2)	48.48			66
Public Service	52.7	59.45	70.26	74
Domestic Service	47.05	65.23	82.87	187
Indoor (DS1)	48.57			140
Women - no paid employment, >14	53.54	70.41	86.49	889
Total	56.94	71.17	84.44	1998

Table 5.1 : Place of Birth by Occupation in the Research Community, 1891

Table 5.1 shows that the largest group by far was women over fourteen years of age in no paid full time employment, having been only slightly less numerous than mining and manufacture together, with domestic servants, most of whom were women, also being a relatively large occupational group. As a consequence, the overall average for the community of 56.94 % having been born in the parish of Madeley is strongly influenced by these four groups.

In fact the proportions of those born in the parish in the two groups dominated by women are below the overall average, whereas the proportions of those born in the parish in the two main groups dominated by men are above the overall average, so they have a balancing effect, at the same time as demonstrating a contrast by gender.

It is perhaps surprising to find that although emphasis has been placed upon the centrality of women in strengthening social networks, a small majority were ' outsiders ', in the sense that they were not born and brought up in the community. One explanation may be that that female marriage partners had been found predominantly from outside the community, lending support to the evidence from the persistence data described below, that migration between neighbouring parishes on the East Shropshire Coalfield was common, in this case by young single men. This is contrary to the pattern that might be expected in a closely-knit, inward-looking community, in which marriage partners were found within the same, stable community. Ridgway has shown that wives of both miners and working class heads of household were more likely than their husbands to have been born in the same parish, indicating that a significant number of men may have migrated to Gornal, finding both work and a wife in the parish, but in this community staying in their wives' place of birth. The pattern of young single men moving around neighbouring parishes, and some finding wives in so-doing, may be characteristic of well established late nineteenth-century mining communities, with migration after marriage being controlled by work opportunities.

The occupational group most likely to have been born in the parish were the miners - nearly three quarters of all those employed in that category. Although the evidence is sparse, the indications are that this pattern was repeated elsewhere, and at different dates. At both Gornal, and Gornal and Sedgley together in 1851 and in 1891, mining heads of household were clearly more likely than other working class

heads of household to have been born in the same parish as that in which they lived at the date of the census. This was also true of miners compared to all residents in Madeley in 1851. It seems that in these locations at least, miners were more likely to have stayed all their lives in, or return to, the parish in which they were born. This could indicate as much about their social networks, and the way in which they were valued, as about employment opportunities, and could be taken to support the argument that the occupation of mining fostered a special quality of social relationship, and that communities dominated by miners in 1891, on well established coalfields, were more likely to have been close-knit than were newly established mining communities, or communities in which other occupations dominated.

	1851	1891
Madeley		
all residents	57.1	
miners (7)	61.8	
Lower Gornal		
coalminer head of household	8.9	44.5
working class head of household	5.0	30.6
coalminer wives	10.5	46.8
working class wives	7.8	34.6
Gornal & Sedgley		
coalminer head of household	78.5	88.3
working class head of household	66.6	74.9
coalminer wives	88.7	89.9
working class wives (8)	83.4	86.2

Table 5.2 : Percent Born in the Same Parish in Madeley and Lower Gornal

In addition, the evidence appears to suggest that an even higher proportion of miners were born in the parish in which they lived both in Madeley and in Gornal and Sedgley in 1891 than in 1851. (9) Thus it can be argued that miners in particular were even more likely to have developed social networks over a longer period of time towards the end of the century.

Within the community in Madeley the only occupational groups in which less than half were born in the parish were domestic service, agriculture and industrial service. The latter two were dominated by labourers, so it appears that those employed in these unskilled occupations were relatively likely to have been social ' outsiders ', in that a minority could have lived within the community over a lifetime. It would appear that the poorest, already financially disadvantaged, were further disadvantaged socially.

The proportion of each occupational group born either in Madeley, or in neighbouring parishes shows a similar pattern to that for the groups born in Madeley alone, with over 60 % of all groups, except public service and agriculture, having been born either in Madeley or a neighbouring parish. The picture of stability is even more pronounced for miners, over 86 % of whom fall into this group, and for iron workers, and even 70 % of women not in paid full time employment were born ' locally ' by this definition. These statistics therefore tend to confirm the picture of stability within the coalfield, that is more pronounced than the stability shown within the parish alone, and confirms a clear pattern by occupation.

The data on place of birth by occupation therefore indicates significant variation according to type of employment, a significant contrast between groups dominated by each gender, and that those in the occupation of miner contributed most to evidence that the community was relatively stable, and contained social networks that had often developed over a lifetime. The data confirm the picture suggested elsewhere, that miners were often more likely to stay in, or return to, their place of birth, than those in other occupations.

(c) By Age

Table 5.3 shows that although the age categories have been defined at regular ten year intervals (apart from sixty and over), there is variation in the size of each group. Furthermore, as the age category increases, so its relative size decreases, with three tenths of the population having been aged ten to nineteen, but only one tenth aged fifty to fiftynine. The overall average of 57 % having been born in Madeley must therefore be strongly influenced by the younger members of the community.

This distribution by age is in itself surprising in a community in which the two most important economic activities by far - mining and iron manufacture - were in decline, and where the total population was decreasing in size. (10) The evidence in this community suggests that it may be erroneous to assume that where there is economic decline, the youngest, having more employment prospects, were the most likely to move away, leaving an ageing population. It could be inferred that

Age Group	Born in Madeley	% of Age Group	Born Elsewhere	Total	% of Total
10 - 19	652	76.88	196	848	29.49
20 - 29	341	63.5	196	537	18.67
30 - 39	246	61.65	153	399	13.87
40 - 49	198	53.95	169	367	12.76
50 - 59	146	46.94	165	311	10.81
60 +	155	37.53	258	413	14.36
				2875	

Table 5.3 : Place of Birth by Age, 1891

this finding gives support to the stable, close-knit stereotype, in that despite the poor local employment prospects, and despite a greater hope of finding work elsewhere, younger people, especially those under thirty, *chose* to stay in Madeley, where they could more easily maintain social and kinship links.

Turning to the separate age categories in more detail, there is a strong and clear pattern that the older the age group, the smaller the proportion of people that have been born within the parish. This, again, is contrary to the pattern that might have reasonably been assumed in a community in decline, but is less surprising than it might appear at first sight. In the youngest category - ages ten to nineteen, up to three quarters could have lived all their lives in Madeley. Those fourteen and younger were on the whole living with their families, and clearly many, if not most, found their first jobs within the parish. This was despite the fact, as shown above, that the majority of domestic servants, a large group, most of whom were young women, had not been born in Madeley. Clearly this group was counterbalanced by the great majority of young men, who had been locally born and had found work locally. Despite the fact that mining and ironworking had been declining for about twenty years, young men still apparently preferred to work near home and friends, if a job could be found. But it is not surprising, in this situation, that relatively few young people came from other parishes to work in Madeley. Hence the high proportion of young people aged 40 and below - almost two thirds - who had been born locally, and the relatively low proportion who had been born outside Madeley. Those who were of working age when the depression began were clearly unlikely to have moved to Madeley for work - in other words those aged 30 and below in 1891.

Of all people aged below 50, the majority had been born in Madeley, and could have lived all their lives in the parish, in common with many of their neighbours and workmates. It is only in the older age groups that community members were

much less likely to have been born in Madeley. Perhaps the most probable explanation of this pattern is that the older sector of the population may have moved to work in Madeley from elsewhere at a time when the mining and iron manufacturing trade were less clearly in decline - before 1870. In terms of the social structure of the community, then, it seems that in this part of Madeley it was much less likely that the older members of the community had been born and brought up within the community, and might therefore have been considered ' outsiders ', even though it was possible that they had lived within the community for a much longer period of time, developing social networks, than the younger portion of the community.

The Lifetime Persistence of Adults - Conclusion

For the research community in 1891, it has been shown that a majority of its members had been born in the same parish, so for most there was likely to have been some stability, and constancy of social relationships. It has been shown that within the community there were significant contrasts. This stability was likely to have been greater overall for men than for women, and for miners and those working in manufacture than for labourers. Women and labourers were more likely to have been thought of, or to have perceived themselves as, social ' outsiders ', having been born, and probably brought up, outside the parish.

These data cast doubt upon the suggestion that there was a widespread strong kinship link between mothers and married daughters, developed over many years, if daughters often moved to another parish on marriage. (11) It has been shown that the population was not an ageing one, which might have been expected in a community characterised by emigration and decline of economic activity, and contrary to expectations, the older members of the community were less likely to have been born and brought up within the community than the younger ones. Thus

the former could have been more likely to have been considered to have been outsiders, due to their place of birth, even though they may have lived for a longer period of time in Madeley than younger inhabitants who had been born there. By considering both analyses together, it has been possible to infer with confidence that young men preferred to remain within the community, despite the lack of long term job prospects, for social, rather than economic, reasons.

(ii) Persistence over Ten Years

In common with the place of birth data, those tracing individuals over a ten year period are subject to the difficulties of accuracy, and interpretation discussed in chapter two, and appendix one. In chapter three it has been shown that although the literature on this aspect of late nineteenth-century mining communities is sparse, and the data are analysed in different ways, the indication is that a clear majority of the community was likely to have moved out of the community within ten years.

In this analysis, the pattern for the whole community will be examined, and then considered further by occupation, age and stage in the life cycle.

(a) The Overall Pattern

Just under a quarter of those aged 10 or over were also living within the community ten years previously. An even smaller proportion were likely to have had the opportunity to have social contact more often, through living in the same part of the community. Just four hundred and forty four people - a sixth of the population in 1891 - had remained within the same Enumeration District. These districts each encompassed more than one cluster of settlement, and were therefore larger than that which might have been considered to have been a neighbourhood. Thus an even lower proportion of the community were likely to have kept the same

neighbours over the ten year period. At least 83.18 % of the community had either moved into the community, or into a new neighbourhood within the community between 1881 and 1891, and within this group, 75.84 % had moved into the community from elsewhere less than ten years previously.

E.D. *	Total	p	ped	% p+ped	% ped
10	340	6	26	9.41	7.64
11	700	58	102	22.85	14.57
12	581	33	141	29.94	24.26
13	693	65	141	29.72	20.34
14	587	51	78	21.97	13.28
whole community	2901	213	488	24.16	16.82

Table 5.4 : Persistence by Enumeration District - 1891 - 1881

E.D. : Enumeration District
p : persistent within the community ped : persistent in same Enumeration District
* See Map 2

There is a good deal of variation by Enumeration District. It may be significant that the least persistence was found in those districts closest to communities outside the research community, and the greatest persistence in parts of central Madeley nearer the newer mines, and encompassing the Lloyds, where company housing had been built. (12) However, even here, seven tenths of the community had arrived after 1881.

It is clear that it was a great deal more common to move than not to move, and that more people moved between communities than between Enumeration Districts, in the research community over the ten years prior to 1891. This finding presents a strong challenge to the view of mining communities as stable, in which most could expect to keep the same neighbours, friends and social contacts over a lifetime. These data also present a different perspective on the view of relative stability indicated by the place of birth data alone. It is a surprising picture, for if any late nineteenth-century mining community were to clearly exhibit stability

using persistence data, it might reasonably have been expected to have been Madeley - a community in which mining and associated activities had been in decline for twenty years, and which had experienced rapid loss of population over ten years.

There is little difference between the persistence figures for the research community and Highley in 1891, (where persistence was also measured over the previous decade for all adults), just 4 %. As Highley was a developing mining settlement, persistence might have been expected to have been relatively low, and it is surprising that it is only slightly less than that for the research community.(13) By comparison to Lower Gornal, 1851 - 1861, persistence in the research community is also low, and cannot entirely be accounted for by the difference in method of calculation. (14) When considered together with literature relating to other mid to late nineteenth-century mining communities, the data for the research community supports the view of mobility of the population, even where economic decline was well established. The majority of the population, including women, children and lodgers, were more likely than not to have social ties broken to some degree by a move out of the community within a ten year period.

The contrast between the ten year persistence and the place of birth data requires some explanation. Whereas over a half of the adult population of the research community was born in the parish, less than a quarter lived in the community ten years earlier. Clearly at least a quarter of community members born in Madeley had either been born in parts of the parish not included in the community, and had moved into the community between 1881 and 1891, or had been born in the community, moved elsewhere and then returned between 1881 and 1891.

To determine the extent to which those who had remained in the community between 1881 and 1891 were the same individuals who were born in the parish, the place of birth and persistence data for each community member was compared.

		% of total	% of individuals born in Madeley
Population of community	2901	100	
Born in Madeley parish	1652		
Persistent in the community	701		70.63
Born in Madeley and persistent	495	17.06	29.96
" " " and persistent in E.D.	338	11.65	

Table 5.5 : A Comparison of the Proportions of the Community Born within the Parish, Persistent in the Community, and Both

It can be seen from the figures above that a clear majority of those who were persistent in the community over the ten years prior to 1891 were also born in the parish (70.63 %). This group could be thought of as the potential ' stayers ', who could have lived all their lives within the community (although it is still possible that some may have moved out and returned). However, this represents only 495 people - 17.06 % of the community. Thus at least 82.94 % of the community had certainly *not* lived all their lives in the community.

Furthermore, only 338 people, or 11.65 % of the total population of the *community, were both* persistent within the Enumeration District in which they lived, and had been born in the parish. It follows that only this small proportion could have lived within the same part of the community all their lives, with an unbroken opportunity to build social links with others in the same situation. At least 88.35 % of the population in 1891 must have moved either within the community, or between parishes.

Finally, Table 5.5 shows that most of the community members in 1891 who were born in Madeley (only just over half of the community) were not living in the

community in 1881 (70.04 %). Even at this level, it is clear that there was a high degree of movement within the parish, in and out of the research community.

By comparing persistence data for individuals, with place of birth data it has been possible to demonstrate conclusively that over three quarters of the population had not remained living within the community throughout their lifetimes, and that an even higher proportion had moved, either within, or outside the community. In Madeley in 1891 it was very unusual to remain living within the same district (Enumeration District), and therefore to keep the same neighbours, either for a lifetime, or even over ten years.

(b) By Occupation

No more than a third of any occupational group could have lived in the community ten years prior to 1891. Thus within each occupational group, most people had not had the opportunity to build up social relationships locally over any great length of time - at least less than ten years. Those most likely to have stayed in the community for ten years or more were those in building or dealing. This is not surprising, as these people were not only likely to have made a financial commitment to their businesses, but also depended upon building up social relationships with their customers. Also relatively likely to have stayed in the community for ten years or more (although still a clear minority) were those in mining and manufacturing, and within these groups, those most closely associated with underground mining. It appears, then, that mining as an occupation did affect the extent to which people were likely to have stayed in the community, and confirming Ridgway's research, finding that miners were more likely than those in other working class occupations to have been persistent.

Those least likely to have lived in the community ten years earlier were engaged in those occupations associated with mobility in the place of birth statistics - those in agriculture, professional services, transport and domestic service. Women over the age of fourteen, not in regular paid employment, appear in the middle of the range, with just over a fifth having lived in the community in 1881. This is not surprising, as for most, their persistence or otherwise in the community is likely to have depended upon their husband's occupation.

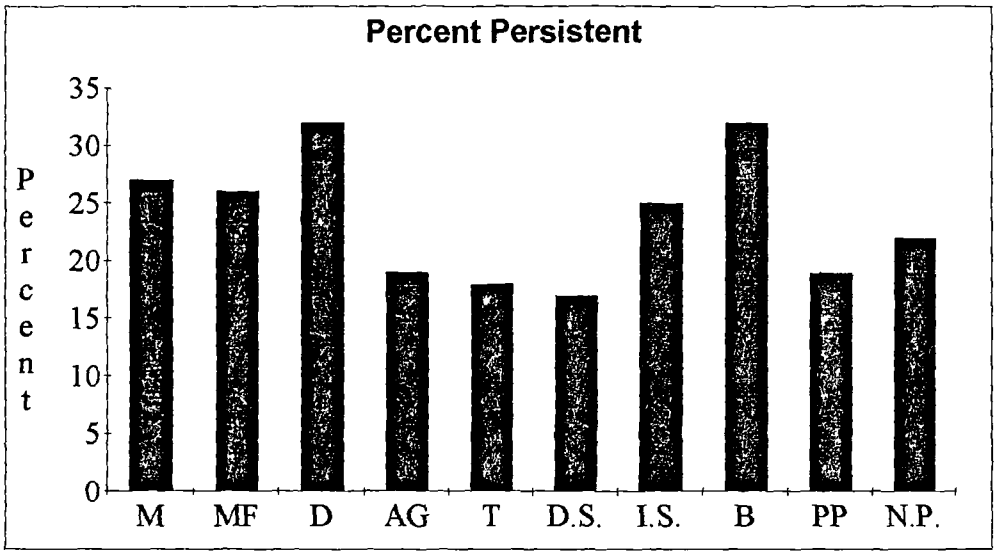
Occupation	Total	p+ped	not p/ped	% p+ped
Building	37	12	25	32.43
Dealing	125	40	85	32.00
Mining	484	134	350	27.68
Manufacturing	506	131	375	25.88
Industrial Services	85	21	64	24.70
Women *	889	194	695	21.82
Agriculture	82	16	66	19.51
Professional	74	14	60	18.91
Transport	54	10	44	18.51
Domestic Service	187	32	155	17.11
Mining (M1)	359	106	253	29.52
Earthenware (MF7)	233	68	265	29.18
Iron & steel (MF4)	112	28	84	25.00
Indoor Dom. Service (DS1)	140	22	118	15.71

Table 5.6 : Persistence by Occupation 1891 -1881

* over 14, not in full time paid employment
p : persistent within the community ped : persistent within the Enumeration District

In numerical terms, the contrasts become even greater. Since by far the largest group is that of women over the age of fourteen not in full time paid employment, it is they who dominate both those who were, but especially those who were not, persistent in the community. This also applies to the next largest groups - those employed in mining and in manufacturing. It is these numerically large groups that have produced the pattern of mobility in the community, as measured by persistence over ten years, and it is clear therefore that occupation did have a

significant effect upon the likelihood that an individual would remain within the community, and therefore on the length of time over which social networks could have been developed. It also confirms Ridgway's research, finding that miners were relatively persistent, compared to other working class occupational groups.



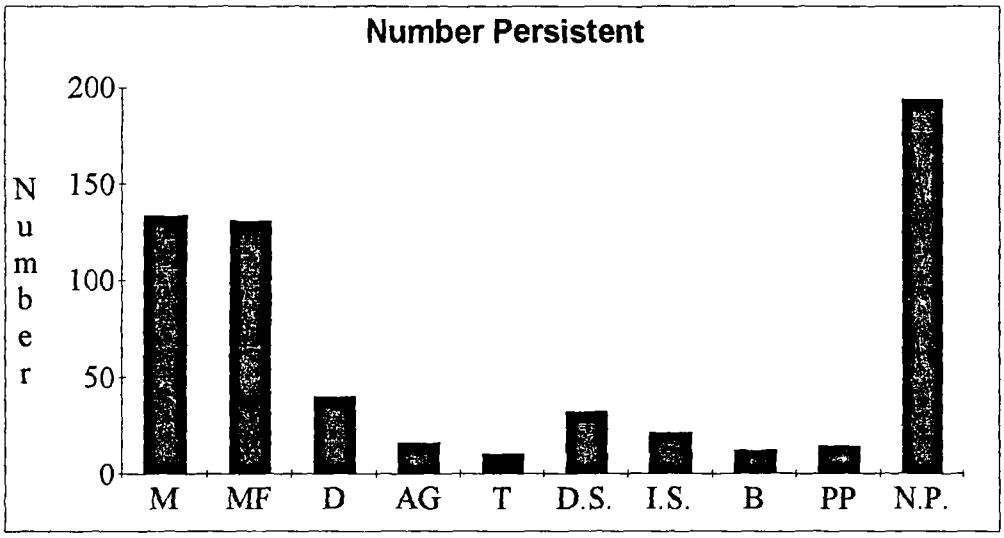


Chart 5.1 : Persistence by Occupation 1891 - 1881*

* For Occupational Categories, see Appendix One

Occupation	Total	Total Persistent and Born in Madeley	% Persistent and Born in Madeley
Building	37	10	27.02
Dealing	125	27	21.6
Mining	484	109	22.52
Manufacturing	506	98	19.36
Industrial Services	85	8	9.41
Women *	889	156	17.54
Agriculture	82	8	9.75
Professional	74	8	10.81
Transport	54	8	14.81
Domestic service	187	18	9.62
Mining (M1)	359	86	23.95
Earthenware (MF7)	233	52	22.31
Iron & steel (MF4)	112	18	16.07
Indoor Dom. Service	140	17	12.12
Whole community	2901	495	17.06

Table 5.7 : Proportions of those Persistent from 1891 to 1881, and Born in Madeley, by Occupation

* over 14, not in full time paid employment

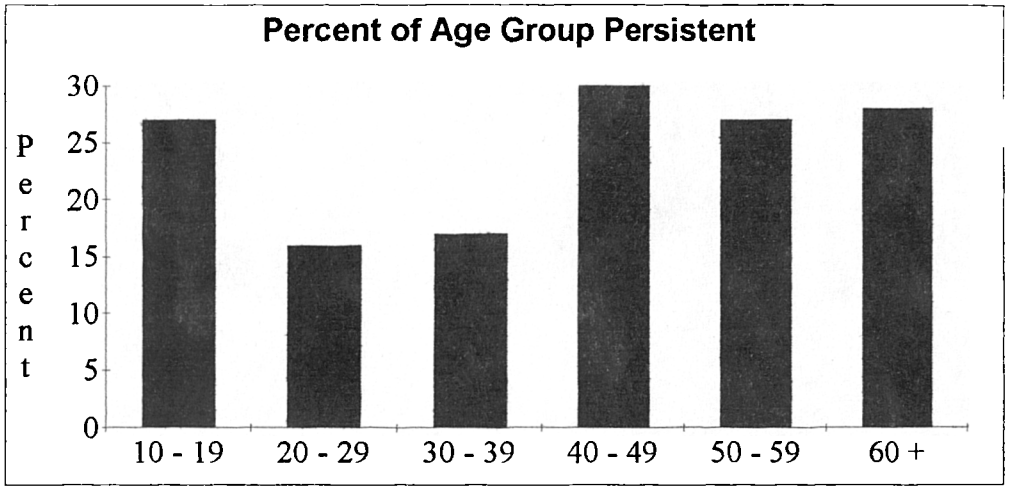
Tracing the place of birth of those who were persistent over ten years by occupation shows a similar pattern to the data for these criteria separately. Over a fifth of those in dealing, building, mining and earthenware manufacture lived in the community in 1891 and 1881, and were born in Madeley, but again the largest numbers with the greatest chance of having lived in the community all their lives were the women in unpaid work, the miners and those working in manufacturing, even though they were the minority in each occupational group. Those least likely to have lived all their lives in the community in terms of social class were those at either end of the scale - in other words labourers and servants, and professionals.

(c) By Age

Age group	total	% of total	no. p	% p	% p and born in Madeley
10 - 19	848	29.49	228	26.88	24.05
20 - 29	537	18.67	87	16.2	13.59
30 - 39	399	13.87	67	16.79	12.28
40 - 49	367	12.76	112	30.51	21.25
50 - 59	311	10.81	89	28.61	14.79
60 +	413	14.36	116	28.08	10.89

Table 5.8 : Persistence by Age 1891 - 1881

p. : persistent within the community



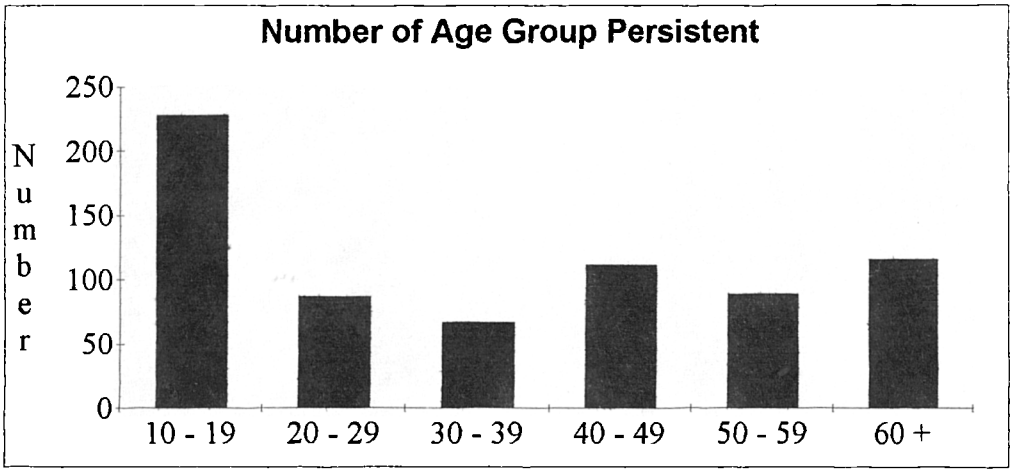


Chart 5.2 : Persistence by Age 1891 - 1881

It is clear that in every age group the great majority had not lived in the community ten years earlier. It is not surprising that compared to other age groups, the youngest are relatively persistent, many of whom were likely to have been still living with their parents, and this group is numerically the largest. Nor is it surprising that relatively low proportions of young adults appear to have stayed in the community for ten years or more; young people may have been able to move more easily without family commitments, and it has been shown above that indoor servants, often an occupation of young unmarried women, were relatively mobile. This is consistent with the data cited in chapter three, showing that migrants to late nineteenth-century mining communities were likely to have been around thirty years of age. (15) Comparatively persistent were those aged forty and over, who may well have found it more difficult to find new employment elsewhere as the coalfield declined.

Relating these data to the place of birth statistics, the same pattern emerges for the under twenty age group, which by both measures was the most persistent. Since this was by far the largest age group, it clearly had the effect of emphasising persistence for the community as a whole. However, there is a difference for the age groups over forty, in which people were less likely to have been born in the parish, but were more likely to have lived in the community in 1881. This is consistent with the explanation suggested above, that people in this group are likely to have migrated to the community some time earlier, when employment opportunities were greater, and who then may well have remained. There is also a revealing contrast for the twenty to forty age groups, who were the least persistent over ten years, but were relatively likely to have been born in the parish of Madeley, possibly indicating a preference to return to the community.

Table 5.9 lends weight to the interpretation that persistence was likely to have been greater for those with children, particularly if they were employed. Clearly, unless

all employed members of households could find work on moving, there would be a financial cost in so-doing. And those least likely to have been persistent were not only young adults over twenty, but also young married couples with one, or no children. Nevertheless, the fact that only eleven households with one child or none were persistent over ten years demonstrates that married couples did indeed move often, and migration was not necessarily dominated by young single men, as inferred in some of the literature. (16) It is clear also, then, that stage in life cycle has a significant effect, alongside age, upon the persistence of community members, and therefore their opportunities to develop social networks.

Stage of Life Cycle	Persistent	Total	% Persistent
Wife under 45, no children	6	36	16.66
Wife under 45, 1 child under 1	5	28	17.85
Children not employed	52	213	24.41
1/2 children employed	35	101	34.65
Less than 2 children employed	55	181	30.38
Wife over 45, no children, or 1 under 20	46	164	28.04

Table 5.9 : Persistence by Stage of Life Cycle, 1891 - 1881

Ten Year Persistence of Adults - Conclusion

For the research community in 1891, it has been shown that a majority of its members had been born in the same parish, so for most there was likely to have been some stability, and constancy of social relationships. It has been shown that within the community there were significant contrasts. This stability was likely to have been greater overall for men than for women, and for miners and those working in manufacture than for labourers. Women and labourers were more likely to have been thought of, or to have perceived themselves as, social ' outsiders ', having been born, and probably brought up, outside the parish.

These data cast doubt upon the suggestion that there was a widespread strong kinship link between mothers and married daughters, developed over many years, if

daughters often moved to another parish on marriage. It has been shown that the population was not an ageing one, which might have been expected in a community characterised by emigration and decline of economic activity, and contrary to expectations, the older members of the community were less likely to have been born and brought up within the community than the younger ones. Thus the former could have been more likely to have been considered to have been outsiders, due to their place of birth, even though they may have lived for a longer period of time in Madeley than younger inhabitants who had been born there. By considering both analyses together, it has been possible to infer with confidence that young men preferred to remain within the community, despite the lack of long term job prospects, for social, rather than economic, reasons.

It has been shown that less than a fifth of the community could have been born and brought up, and have lived at least the previous ten years within the community. The likelihood was that community members had their social networks disrupted to some degree by moves, which were more likely to have been within the parish or East Shropshire Coalfield, than further afield. Within the community, it was probable that some occupational groups perceived themselves as ' outsiders ', relative to other community members, having been the least persistent. These groups included professionals, labourers and domestic servants, whereas miners were one of the largest, and most persistent groups. Furthermore, there were differences by age group, with the oldest and the youngest having been relatively persistent, and young adults the most mobile, within a community characterised overall by lack of residential permanence.

2. Family Mobility

By analysing the place of birth of children within households, it is possible to gain a fuller picture of persistence or mobility over time spans greater or less than the exact ten year span that follows from tracing individuals from one census to the

next. It is also possible to gain a fuller picture of the frequency and geographical range of moves, which could affect the structure and development of social networks.

In chapter three it has been shown that although the literature focusing upon mobility in late nineteenth-century mining communities is very limited, that which has been carried out indicates that migration was frequent, and more often over short distances, but is divided on the question of whether young single men, or families, dominated intercommunity migration. More extensive work on persistence in late Victorian cities also provides evidence of short distance, frequent moves, especially for those in the ' working class '. (17)

Consideration will be given to measures indicating the number and frequency of previous moves, and the length of time that households in 1891 were likely to have lived continuously in the community, and to the range of moves of the families who had not remained within Madeley parish.

(i) Number of Moves of Households in the Community in 1891

For three quarters of the households in the community there is no evidence to indicate that they have moved at all, and from the places of birth of their children, it seems unlikely that they ever moved outside the parish of Madeley. This supports the view of the community having been relatively stable, and suggests that if moves were generally, frequent and short distance, they must have been within a radius of only a mile or two, to remain within the parish.

	3+moves (%)	1/2 moves (%)	0 moves	Total	% of Total
AG	18	42	39	33	6
M1	2	8	89	209	35
M2/3		20	80	5	1
MF4	0	13	78	67	11
MF7		23	77	43	7
Other MF	8	25	67	51	9
T	3	19	77	31	5
D	12	26	62	42	7
IS2		4	96	26	4
B		75	25	4	1
DS		41	59	17	3
PP	35	41	59	17	3
Other	5	36	60	42	7
All	6	19	75	587	

Table 5.10 : Number of Moves of Households by Occupation of Head of Household *

* For occupational categories, see Appendix One

By far the largest occupational group of heads of household in the community was miners, comprising 35.6 % of the total. In fact almost nine tenths of households headed by miners may never have moved since the formation of the household, and had almost certainly not moved outside the parish. Since new coal mines were being developed outside the East Shropshire Coalfield in 1891, it is reasonable to assume that miner heads of household may well have been able to find employment elsewhere, had they wished, and that for many the decision to stay working in a declining coalfield was a positive choice, made for social, rather than economic reasons. Likewise, in households in which the head was employed in an occupation related to mining, such as iron and steel, brick or tile making, there is no evidence that indicates unequivocally that over three quarters had ever moved at all. Only in the smaller occupational groups of agriculture, building or domestic service was there positive evidence that over half had moved since the household unit was

formed. This therefore tends to confirm the effect of occupation upon stability, and the development of social networks described earlier in this chapter.

For all occupational groups, it was more likely that if households had moved since the birth of the first child, they had done so only once or twice, rather than three or more times. 75 % of all ' moving households ' had only moved once or twice. Although this finding can only underestimate the number of moves over the total length of time that a household existed, it certainly casts doubt upon the picture of frequent moves in the late nineteenth century given in the literature. Neither do those most prone to frequent moves appear to be especially those in the ' working class ', as concluded by Dennis. Those most likely to have moved frequently appear to have been those in the professions, who perhaps were encouraged to do so by their terms of work. A number of nonconformist ministers and a policeman, for example, were amongst the frequent movers. Some particularly skilled workers amongst the groups who appeared to be less likely to have moved do not appear in the statistics, but were amongst those who moved more often - an example being an artist working at the china works. It may be that their skills gave them more opportunity for promotion than were open to unskilled workers.

This evidence therefore indicates that for family units in the research community, a substantial majority had remained within the community from the birth of the first child, and that this picture was strongly related to the dominance of mining as an occupation amongst heads of household. It adds weight to the picture of the community as a stable one, in which children as well as adults could generally expect to be able to maintain social networks over a long period, even if some links were strengthened, and other weakened, as a result of very short distance moves within the parish.

(ii) Probable Length of Residence in the Community

As indicated in Appendix Three, these data are even less precise than those relating to the number of moves previously made by households, but they do nevertheless give a range of values relating to the length of continuous residence of households in the community. These can amplify the data provided by measures of persistence between censuses, or lifetime links with the community, as given by the place of birth data. Thus it is possible to give the proportion of households who either could have, or certainly had, lived together in the community for less than five years, for example, or the proportion of households who could have, or certainly had, lived as a unit in the community for over 20 years.

Over a half of all households in the community (56.36 %) had almost certainly stayed within the parish for *over* ten years. (18) This is a surprisingly high figure, as it is likely that many of the remaining 43.64 % had not been existed as households for as long as ten years, so would not be included in this statistic, but nevertheless had not moved to Madeley from other parishes. In addition, many households not included in the ' definitely over ten years ' category, *could* have lived within the parish for more than ten years, so the statistic given is a minimum. For the same reasons as those given above, the figure of 26.02 % of households having definitely lived in the parish for over twenty years appears high, and is certainly also a minimum.

On the other hand, the proportions of households for whom a maximum period of residence can be demonstrated are relatively low. Only 12.92 % of households had definitely lived together in the parish for less than twenty years, 8.05 % for less than ten years, and 5.43 % for less than five years. (19) Many of these households came into existence within these time periods, so the figures do not imply that even this small proportion had moved from other parishes.

Years	≤ 20	≤ 10	≤ 5	≥ 10	≥ 20	Total
Occupation *						
AG	36.66	30	25	43.33	13.33	30
M1	7.73	4.97	5	67.4	27.62	181
MF4	11.36	6.81	6	56.81	20.45	44
MF7	13.04	8.69	4	47.82	26.08	46
Other MF	9.52	7.14	5	59.52	28.57	42
Other **	18.42	2.63		63.15	60.52	38
Total	12.92	8.05	5.43	56.36	26.02	534

Table 5.11 : Percent of Occupational Groups Definitely Resident in the Community by Household

* For occupational categories, see Appendix One
** Widows, widowers and those living on their own means

Thus the overall statistics confirm a clear picture of stability within the parish, and show that it is likely that a dominant proportion of people living in family units had remained within the parish since the formation of the households - for the children all their lives. They indicate that most people were likely to have stayed within the parish for longer than ten years, many for longer than twenty years, and that it is probable that the great majority who had been born in the parish did indeed stay there all their lives. Clearly if family units did make short distance moves, they were much more likely to have been within the parish than further afield.

Only the largest occupational groups have been analysed separately, as for other groups individual categories become very small, providing potentially misleading statistics. The evidence indicates again that the miners contributed to relative stability in the community, with over two thirds of households headed by a miner almost certainly having remained in the community for longer than ten years. Other related occupations, such as iron working, tile making, china manufacture and manufacturing generally show a similar, though less pronounced, pattern of stability. These statistics therefore again demonstrate that it was the miners in

particular who gave the community its characteristic stability for household units, over periods that were most likely to have been longer than ten years.

(iii) Range of Moves

This section considers the distance of moves for that 25 % of households in the community for which there is evidence of one or more moves. For the largest group of households, the furthest distance moved was from a neighbouring parish (39.47 %), with fewer from elsewhere in Shropshire or neighbouring counties, and fewer still, although not an insignificant number, from elsewhere in the country. Thus ' movers ' were likely to have been able to maintain social networks established in neighbouring parishes to some extent . Those who had moved from further afield may have tended to establish social networks including each other, feeling a greater social distance from those with longer established social links, or perceived as ' outsiders ' by the ' stayers ' in the community.

	Elsewhere	N'bring County	Shrops.	N'bring parish	Total
Occupation					
AG		4	9	7	20
M1	4	2	4	12	22
M2/3				1	1
MF4	1	4	3	7	15
MF7		7	3		10
Other MF	1	5	2	9	17
T		3	1	3	7
D		3	2	11	16
IS2				1	1
B			1	2	3
DS		1	4	2	7
PP	8		2	3	13
Other	3	7	3	4	17
Total	17	36	34	62	149

Table 5.12 : Furthest Move of Families According to Place of Birth of Children

* For occupational categories, see Appendix One

The data show a clear contrast of origin of moves according to occupation. Miners, those working in the iron industry and in other manufacturing trades were likely to have moved with their families from neighbouring parishes - mainly on the East Shropshire Coalfield. Thus it seems that although the great majority of miners and their families did not move outside the parish, if they did, it was within the coalfield, rather than from other coalfields. Families of farm workers were slightly more likely to have moved from elsewhere in Shropshire than from neighbouring parishes. ' Movers ' in tile making and china manufacture were likely to have moved from a neighbouring county - principally Staffordshire, another centre of the china industry, whereas professionals and those in trade were likely to have moved from elsewhere in the country. (20) However, it should be emphasised again that numbers are relatively small, as for the great majority of households there is no evidence of any move at all. It appears that mining ' movers ' may have been relatively able to maintain longer standing social links, albeit on a less frequent basis, whereas ' movers ' working in the chinaworks may have maintained social networks with those who had moved with them from Staffordshire, and movers in other occupational groups may have had to build new social networks.

These figures concentrate upon the furthest place of origin of a household. In trying to establish the extent to which households may have had a previous connection with the community, the data were examined to find any recorded place of birth of any child in Madeley, prior to a further move of the household outside the parish. In seventeen households (11.18 % of ' moving households ') there was such a record. It was therefore clearly unusual for a household to have left the community, and subsequently to have returned, with the possibility of resuming social links that had been first established some years before. In this community, then, it seems clear that the potential weakness that has been pointed out for measuring persistence on a ten year basis - that individuals may have moved away

and returned in the time span - has little validity. For the significant proportion of the community who were born in Madeley, but not persistent over ten years, it was more likely that they had move into the community from other parts of the parish, than to have moved out of the community and back again.

These data have shown that there was a clear distance decay effect for those households that did move, accentuated by the domination of mining as an occupation, and the geographical location of the East Shropshire Coalfield. This in turn is likely to have affected the structure and strength of social networks by occupational group.

Persistence of Families - Conclusion

This analysis of family mobility has demonstrated that this way of using census data does provide detail that can be established with enough confidence to make it a valuable approach in establishing both the frequency of moves, and range of moves for households that is not available from other sources.

In the research community, the analysis has shown that for household units the overwhelming pattern is one of stability within the parish. This pattern was strongly influenced by the fact that by far the largest group of heads of household were miners, with other important occupational groups being those dependent upon mining. Of those who had moved, the moves were predominantly within the coalfield, from neighbouring parishes, but even these had occurred only once or twice for each household. And finally it has been shown that there were significant differences between households according to the occupation of head of household, with those engaged in agriculture, the professions and dealing having been the most likely to have moved further, and more often.Those data therefore confirm previously observed patterns of short distance moves having been more likely, within, rather than between, coalfields, and add to our knowledge of the numbers

of moves made by household units, and of the variation in persistence between members of the community according to the occupation of the head of household.

3. Children under Ten

It has been stated above that an underlying principle of this research is the equality of all members of the community. It follows that children's social networks, and factors affecting them, merit as much attention as those of every other age group. It has also been noted above that autobiographical sources have often emphasised the importance placed by members of the community on the extent to which others have been ' born and brought up ' in the community, and that those with whom individuals went to school were accepted as ' one of us ' more readily. This research will therefore consider not only those who were attending school in 1891, but also the length of time that they had previously attended, and had the opportunity to develop social networks in so-doing.

The analysis of persistence amongst children will deal first with an analysis of the census data, and then with the example of the Madeley National School records for boys. (21)

(i) Place of Birth

86.55 % of children under the age of ten had been born in Madeley, which is only a little higher than the equivalent figure for ten to nineteen year olds, but is substantially higher than the average for the whole community over ten - just over 50 %. The figures illustrate a strong contrast between the experience of the younger and the older members of the community. The former had almost certainly lived all their lives in the parish, so potentially had well established friendship

patterns, whereas the latter were much more likely to have disrupted social networks through movement from one community to another.

To give a further indication of the extent to which children had indeed lived all their lives within the parish, over half had younger siblings who had been born in the parish, so almost certainly had never moved away. It is likely that much higher proportions had in fact stayed in Madeley, as many of those for whom there is no positive evidence were the youngest in the household, so there is no younger sibling record. However of the total number of children - 959 - there is positive evidence that only four had been born in the parish, had moved away, and then returned. It therefore seems to be the case that nearly all of the 86.55 % of children under the age of ten had lived all their lives in the parish.

(ii) Madeley National School

Within the research community there were four day schools in 1891 - Madeley National School (for girls and boys), the Infants' School and the Wesleyan school in central Madeley, and a school at the Lloyds. Within the parish there was also a Wesleyan school at Madeley Wood, between the community and Ironbridge, one at Ironbridge, and separate Girls' and Boys' Schools at Coalbrookdale. The National School was the largest, and educated almost as many children as the combination of the other two schools in the community. (22) Unfortunately the data are only available for boys, but the evidence can still be taken to be largely representative of persistence amongst all boys in the community. The data will be examined to draw inferences upon the persistence of children, and the extent to which they remained together throughout their years at the National School, upon the extent to which late arrivals or departures may have disrupted social networks, and upon the extent to which the children were likely to have also spent their infant years together.

Over a half of the boys admitted to the school between 1884 and 1891 were definitely still attending in 1891, and a further quarter, for whom no leaving date was recorded, could have been attending (table 5.13). Of the boys definitely attending the school during that year, just over half were admitted in 1888 or before, so had attended the school together for three years or more. At least a half, and up to three quarters, of the boys therefore had the opportunity to build up social networks at school over at least three years.

	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	T
Number admitted	61	60	43	42	37	22	43	37	345
Definitely left by 1891	23	15	2	9	7	6	7	0	69
No leaving date	37	25	19	9	6	0	0	0	96
Leaving date after 1891	1	20	22	24	24	16	36	37	180

Table 5.13 : Number of Admissions to Madeley Boys' National School, and Attendance in 1891, by Year ofAdmission

Also significant in terms of the development of social networks is the proportion of children who were admitted late to school, after the usual age of seven. These children had to find a place in pre-existing social groupings, making more difficult for these children to be thought of as people with whom the others had shared a childhood. Nearly a third of all children definitely attending the school in 1891 were in this situation, as were over a quarter of all the children who had been admitted from 1884.

Over a quarter of late arrivals had earlier attended the school, left and been readmitted. These boys had probably left to find work, or had truanted, but had later decided to gain higher certificates at school, as recorded in the school admission books. They may have been able to re-establish pre-existing social networks.

	Number of boys	
Readmitted	25	
Schools in the Community		
Lloyds	8	)
Wesleyan	14	) 25
Infants	3	)
Schools in Madeley		
Kemberton	6	)
Private	2	) 9
Madeley Wood	1	)
Schools in Neighbouring Parishes		
Stirchley	7	)
Jackfield	1	) 8
Schools Elsewhere	20	
None	2	
Total	89	

Table 5.14 : School of Origin of Children Admitted to Madeley National School over the Age of Eight, 1884 - 1891
(A total of 318 boys were admitted since 1884, for 89 of whom school of origin was recorded)

Half of the boys who entered the school late had previously attended other schools within the community, parish, or nearby. They also were likely to have known other children from their neighbourhood, or who had also previously attended the same school, and could therefore probably fit relatively easily into social networks, through existing, or previously established social networks.

There is evidence that some of these boys changed schools to improve their grades. They often left at an older age than other boys - at least thirteen, with grades higher than on arrival. They clearly had spent fewer years developing friendships at the school than other boys.

By tracing these pupils individually, both in school records and in the census, it is also possible to say with confidence that these changes of school within the parish were not accompanied by a move of house, indicating local mobility of whole families, but merely that the children walked further to school. (23)

Grade on arrival							Age on arrival					Age on leaving					Living in the community 1891	
O	**I**	**II**	**III**	**IV**	**V**	**VI**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**>10**	**<10**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13+**	**yes**	**no**
8	5	6	9	4	3	1	2	6	6	3	18	2	2	3	5	16	22	16

Table 5.15 : All Boys Admitted 1884 to 1891 - Grades and Ages on Admission

A significant minority - almost a quarter of late arrivals - had previously attended schools outside the area, and as a consequence were the least likely to have pre-existing networks of friends in the school, and were the most likely to have felt themselves to have been 'outsiders' within the school.

Also a factor in the nature of the social networks existing amongst the boys in 1891 were those who had left. Of those who had been admitted over the previous six years, 20 % had definitely left, and a further 28 % could have done, as there was no leaving date recorded. However from the dates of the last qualification given, it seems likely that many of these boys had also left school by 1891 - nearly a half of all those admitted. The equivalent figure for those admitted over the four years prior to 1891 is 18 %, or twenty six boys. It appears to have been increasingly likely that children from the age of eleven, or after four years at the school, left to start work, as the earlier the admission date, the larger were the numbers of those who had left, or for whom there was no leaving date. This had the effect of increasingly fragmenting the social networks of the boys still attending school. And Table 5.16 shows that more than half of those for whom there was no leaving date from the school were not present in the community in 1891, indicating

that school-based social networks were further disrupted by moves out of the community.

	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889
Present	12	14	8	2	2	31
Not present	18	16	8	7	4	29

Table 5.16 : All Boys Admitted 1884 - 1891, for Whom No Leaving Date is Given, and Presence in the Community in 1891

A further factor affecting the development of social networks at school was the school that had been attended before admission. Table 5.18 shows that two thirds of the boys attending the National School in 1891 had also attended the Infants' School together, a further fifth had previously attended local schools, and therefore had some shared experiences and friends before they started at the National School. A relatively small proportion - slightly under a tenth - had move from schools outside the area, and were the most likely to have been viewed as ' outsiders '.

	Number of boys
Infants' School	103
Other schools in the community	
Wesleyan	7
Lloyds	2
Kemberton	5
Other schools in the parish	
Madeley Wood	1
Dame	6
Private	3
Neighbouring parish	
Stirchley	10
Elsewhere	13

Table 5.17 : Previous School of Boys Definitely Attending Madeley National School in 1891

It seems probable that most children had the opportunity to develop social networks through the Infant and National schools. An even higher proportion had stayed together through their time at the National School, with networks only starting to be disrupted from the age of eleven, when some left to find work. However a significant minority - approximately a quarter, of the boys who had been admitted to the school since 1884 had been admitted late, either having temporarily left the school, or more likely changing schools locally to gain higher qualifications, hence experiencing greater change in their social networks.

Persistence of Children - Conclusion

This evidence therefore suggests that a clear majority of children in the community in 1891 had been born and brought up in the parish, and had attended school together for seven years. However there was a substantial minority of boys had started school later than the usual age of seven, who may have been regarded as social ' outsiders ' by others who had previously developed friendship groups over a number of years.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the value of adopting a number of approaches to assessing persistence. By taking a single statistic to indicate stability or persistence for the whole community, it would be possible to present an apparently straightforward and clear view. However, by including measures of place of birth, and persistence, both in the community and in individual Enumeration Districts, by breaking these down by occupation, age and stage of life cycle, by including school attendance records, and by analysing all the data together, it has been possible to demonstrate that the picture, far from simple, is in fact complex. And by using

these data together it has been possible to come to a much clearer idea of the dynamics of the social networks within the community.

The evidence demonstrates a surprising degree of variation, relying as it does to a great extent upon one source - the census. The variation is related to the way in which the statistics are collated, in particular whether the spatial unit is the community as defined, or the whole parish of Madeley, and also whether the statistics relate to all individuals, or to heads of household only. The evidence can be interpreted to draw opposite conclusions.

On the one hand, there is good evidence to indicate stability. It has been shown that just over half of individuals in the community were born in Madeley, just over half of all households in the community with children had lived in Madeley for at least ten years, and that for three quarters of all households in the community with children there is no evidence that any had moved outside the parish. In addition, most boys attending Madeley National School had spent all their school years together.

On the other hand, there is convincing evidence indicating that mobility was more common than stability. Only a quarter of individual community members over ten years of age were living in the community ten years earlier. No more than 17 % of individual community members could have lived in the community all their lives. Only a sixth of the community lived in the same Enumeration District in 1881.

It appears from the evidence, that most people did *not* live continuously in the community as defined, for any substantial number of years, developing social networks, but that nevertheless for children, most of their friendships were likely to have remained constant throughout childhood, and that once family units were

established, the likelihood was that they would remain in the parish, if not in the community.

In fact the evidence does seem to indicate a good deal of *local* stability within the parish and the East Shropshire Coalfield. The decennial persistence figures are higher for the community than for the Enumeration Districts, indicating movement within the community, between neighbourhoods. The family mobility data show a much higher proportion of families living continuously in the parish, than the proportions of individuals who could have stayed in the community between 1881 and 1891. And this evidence of movement within the parish is confirmed by the difference between the proportions of individuals born in Madeley, and that of those persistent over ten years. The range of moves indicated by the places of birth of the children also indicate movement within the Coalfield, although this was much less common than movement within the parish. Most of the households that had moved outside the parish had come from neighbouring parishes.

Overall, the picture is one of change, and lack of constancy of social relationships within the community, but of constancy within the parish and coalfield over the longer term. There was the possibility, then, that social networks could have been maintained across the parish, or with others in neighbouring parishes on a relatively sporadic basis, following moves within this range, but that more frequently reinforced relationships within the community or neighbourhood were likely to have been short term for many. It has also been shown that there were important variations in persistence according to occupation.

The most persistent were miners, followed by those employed in manufacturing, so dependant upon local supplies of coal,iron or clay. Smaller numbers of dealers and builders were also more likely to have stayed in the community for a longer period of time, with the opportunity to have developed wider and stronger social

networks. Conversely, professionals, domestic servants and labourers were the least likely to have lived in the community for any length of time. They were therefore likely to have been the most socially isolated.

Women over the age of fourteen who were not in full time paid employment appear near the middle of the range of statistics presented in percentage terms. However, in numerical terms, this group becomes very significant, being the largest group of all. The largest section of the population that was born in the parish, had lived in the parish in 1881 and could have been born and brought up in the community were women over fourteen. These points also applied to those occupied in mining and manufacturing, the next largest groups. These sections of the community therefore had the greatest opportunity to develop social networks over a longer period of time, even though a majority had not lived in the community ten years earlier. This perspective illustrates the importance of analysing statistics by absolute values, as well as in percentage terms.

Anaylsis by the occupational groups chosen for this research also highlights a contrast by gender. Overall, both in terms of ten year persistence and place of birth, occupations dominated by men showed more persistence than those dominated by women. It therefore appears that in broad terms men had more opportunity to develop social networks over a longer period of time, added to the fact that they were more likely to share a place of work than women, who were both more isolated if they worked as domestic servants, and were less likely to have stayed within the community over ten years.

The analysis has also shown contrasts by age and stage of life cycle. Although the younger the individual, the greater was the likelihood that he or she had been born in the parish, with a majority of those under fifty having done so, it was those over forty, with children in employment, who were the most likely to have lived in the

community in 1881, and the young adults who were the least likely to have done so. The youngest in the community were those most likely to have experienced constancy of social networks, with a period of change during young adulthood, followed by greater stability as children grew up. The older members of the community were less likely to have stayed in the community over ten years, and were the least likely to have been born in the parish. In these terms, therefore, they could have been viewed as relative ' outsiders '.

1. See J. Ridgway, " Structures ", p. 68 for a useful summary of criticisms of place of birth data.
2. C. Storm-Clark, Oral History, p. 84.
3. J. Ridgway, " Structures ", pp. 75, 76.
4. J. Ensum, " Highley ", p. 26.
5. R.M. Crofts, " Madeley ", p. 28. 57.1 % of male heads of household had been born in the parish of Madeley, compared to 56.94 % of adults over the age of ten in the research community in 1891.
6. R.M. Crofts, " Madeley ", specifically considering miners, and J. Ridgway, " Structures ", comparing miners with *all* ' working class ' men together, are amongst the few.
7. R.M. Crofts, " Madeley ".
8. J. Ridgway, " Structures ".
9. However, J. Ridgway, " Structures ", has shown that wives of both miners and working class heads of household were more likely than their husbands to have been born in the same parish, indicating that a significant number of men may have migrated to Gornal, finding both work and a wife in the parish. The pattern of young single men moving around neighbouring parishes, and some finding wives in so-doing, may not be characteristic of well established late nineteenth-century mining communities, but reflect the particular extent of the East Shropshire Coalfield.
10. See Chart 4.1, p. 104.
11. See, for example, M. Young and P. Wilmott, Family.
12. See I.J. Brown, Industrial, for detailed research on this area, indicating a high level of persistence.
13. J. Ensum, " Highley ", p.17.
14. J. Ridgway, " Structures ", p. 71. Ridgway's persistence figures were calculated forwards, rather than to the previous decade. Comparisons to the persistence figures found in mid century Lanarkshire are even more difficult, as A.B. Campbell, The Lanarkshire, included change of occupation in his calculation.
15. See Chapter Three, p. 68 for more detail.
16. See Chapter Three, pp. 68 - 69. On the other hand, D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, Coal, p. 49, having commented upon the usefulness of noting the places of birth of children within the household, to provide more detail on migration paths, described the migration path of two households, headed by miners, which had moved three or four times, over long distances, from areas dominated by agriculture to mining settlements. They suggest that these two families, " seemed to exemplify " patterns of migration to coal mining areas from rural areas.
17. R. Dennis, English, p. 251, for example, concludes that, " the Victorian poor moved often ", and also p. 257, from entries of the middle class in trade directories, that over half moved address within 5 years. For evidence of the short distance of moves, see p. 256, table 8.1. (ii). For the working class generally in the late nineteenth century, J. Benson, The Working Class in Britain, p. 120, states that " short-distance migration was always a great deal more common ".

18. As all children in the household were born in Madeley, the eldest being over 10 years of age.
19. The ' definitely less than ' categories are derived from households in which older children were born outside Madeley.
20. In the former case, moving appears to have been an integral part of the work, for example nonconformist ministers moving on a 3 year cycle - see the Wellington Journal, 11th July, p. 7.
21. See Appendix Three for more detail on Madeley National School records, and their analysis for this research.
22. Madeley National : 290; the Wesleyan : 200; Lloyds : 100 . J. McFall, " Education ", pp. i and 282.
23. For more detail, see appendix four.

CHAPTER 6 - KINSHIP NETWORKS AND SOCIAL SUPPORT

It has been shown that the role of kin as part of social networks in late nineteenth-century mining communities has been given little direct attention, and that which is available often relies upon individual autobiographical or oral evidence. Although the difficulties of family life have been recognised, the view presented has been dominantly a positive one. The statistical data that relate to kinship in late nineteenth-century mining communities in 1891, limited though it is, show that the overwhelming majority of the community members lived in nuclear family units, that very few lived alone, that the elderly and widowed lived almost entirely with kin, as did new migrants, but that it was more common for families to support siblings, or children of siblings, than for three generations of a family to provide support through coresidence. (1) Statistical research has also shown that it was common for sons to share the same occupation as their miner fathers, but whether help was given in finding a job, or support given at work, it is impossible to know.

A primary aim of this research is to examine the extent to which a late nineteenth-century community could be described as having been relatively ' close-knit '. Research has indicated that kin both constituted a major factor affecting social networks, amd comprised a major portion of those networks in many communities. (2) To assess this aspect of a community as a social system this chapter will examine the extent to which kin were available to provide support, and the extent to which it can be demonstrated that they did so.

Consideration will first be given to coresidence and family structure within households, as the prime potential means of support by kin. Both analyses contribute to an assessment of the composition of kinship networks within the community. Secondly, attention will be given to the extent to which it can be

shown that neighbours were also kin - a characteristic that has been taken to demonstrate that communities were close-knit, and which can be expressed in terms of the structure of social networks, and the extent to which those of kin and neighbours overlapped. (3) The chapter will then demonstrate ways in which kin did in fact help each other in Madeley, and thus the content of kinship networks in the community, and ways in which kin did act as a ' door ' to the community.

1. Coresidence

Coresidence of *all* individuals in the community over the age of 10 will provide a broad overview of the extent to which members of the whole community had the opportunity to turn to coresident kin for support, and will provide an overall indication of the composition of close kinship networks. This measure is consistent with an inclusive approach, that values all individuals in the community. Servants and lodgers, for example - both significant minority groups - are necessarily excluded from data based solely upon family units.

(i) Coresidence of individuals

	Number	Percent
With nuclear family	2459	84.82
With other kin	209	7.20
As a lodger	64	2.20
As a servant	99	3.41
Alone	63	2.17
Other (e.g. alone with housekeeper,lodger)	5	0.17
Total	2899	

Table 6.1 : Coresidence of Community Members, aged 10 and over, 1891

For the overwhelming majority of community members, kin were available as the first point of reference, living within the same household, and for nearly all kin

meant members of the nuclear family. Under 10 % of community members did not live with kin, although for these 231 individuals, the possible of lack of kin in their closest social networks may well have been significant both personally, and in terms of networks within the community as a whole. (4)

In all mining communities for which coresidence has been analysed for 1891, there is remarkable consistency, despite the differences of methods of calculation. (5) Coresident kin comprised part of almost every individual's social network.

Nevertheless, there are some significant differences between the communities. A higher proportion of community members in those places that were well established as mining communities lived with kin. Madeley, Lower Gornal, and Cradley were characterised by emigration and a surplus of housing; hence the lower proportions of lodgers compared to Highley, which was newly established as a mining community, characterised by immigration and a shortage of housing.

	Lower Gornal (6) (coalminer households)	**Cradley** (6) (coalminer *households)*	**Highley** (7) (total *population)*	**Madeley** (population *10 & over)*
kin	95.30	95.50	85.40	92.02
servants/lodgers	4.60	4.50	14.00	5.61
alone	0.80*	0	0.20	2.34

Table 6.2 : Coresidence in Mining Communities in 1891 (percent)

* or with non kin

On the other hand, the proportion of people in Madeley living alone was higher than in any of the other communities. (8) It is difficult to be confident of the explanation for this. Since those living alone and working full time, and those living alone and not working, are in roughly equal proportions, the explanation does not appear to lie entirely in the extent to which individuals were dependant or self supporting, even allowing for the fact that some may have worked sporadically, or

part time. Many may not have had relatives living nearby with whom they could live, as a relatively low proportion were persistent, or had been born in the parish. (9) In respect of proportions of the community living alone, Madeley was less close-knit than other late nineteenth-century mining communities, since these individuals' kinship networks were maintained on a less frequent and less intense basis.

(a) Coresidence by Occupation

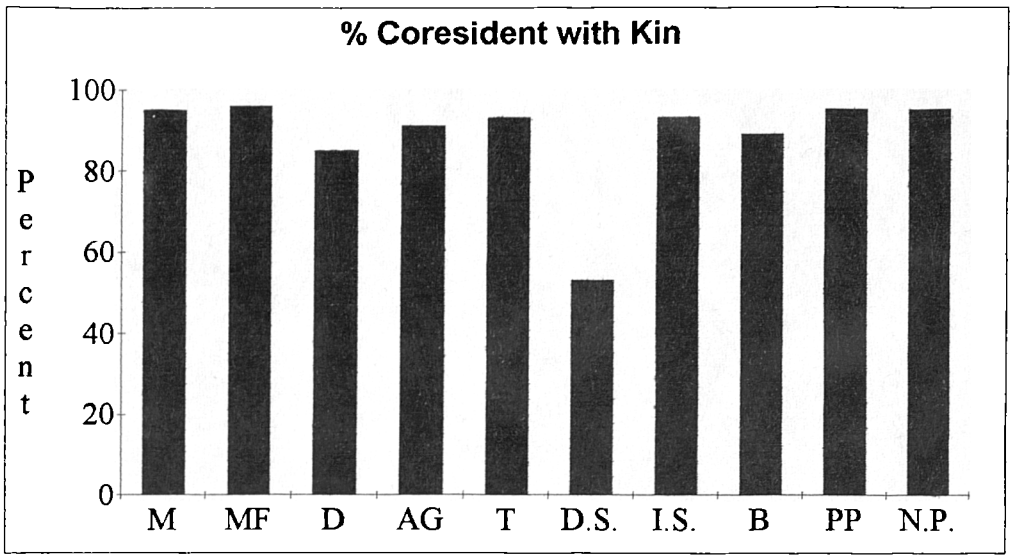
	Total No.	With Kin	Lodgers	Servants	Alone
M	483	95	3	0	1
MF	506	96	3	0	1
D	101	85	0	9	8
AG	82	91	5	0	4
T	54	93	7	0	0
DS	187	53	3	42	2
IS	85	93	5	0	2
PP	74	95	4	0	1
N.P	889	95	1	1	3
Overall		92	2	3	2

Table 6.3 : Coresidence by Occupation, 1891 (percent) *

* For Occupational Categories, see Appendix One

In all occupational groups with the exception of one, the overwhelming majority had coresident kin within their social networks. This was particularly true for miners, those in manufacturing, and women not in full time paid employment. In this respect therefore, these data show that miners contributed to the extent to which the community was close-knit, insomuch as a greater proportion, as well as

a greater number did live with kin, than those employed in any other single occupational category.



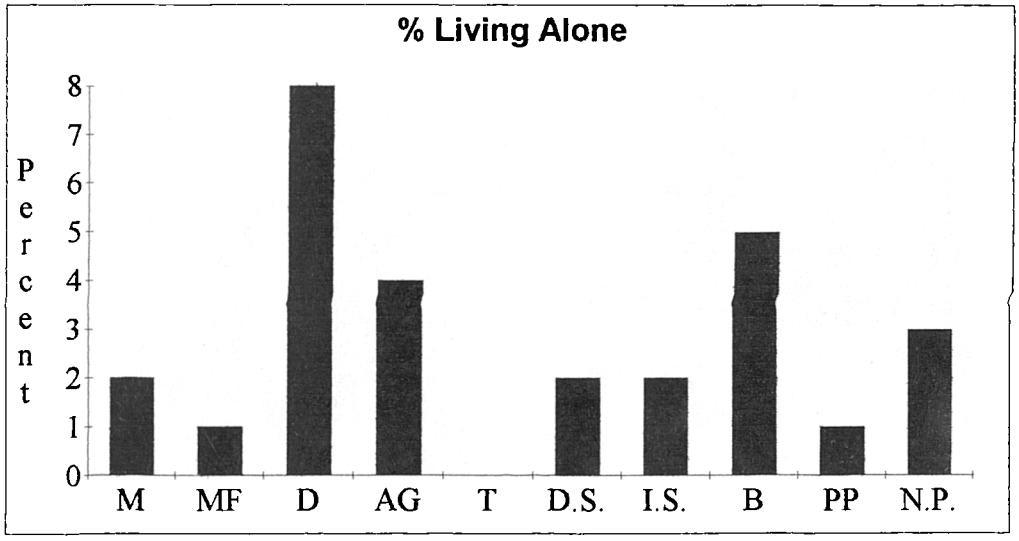


Chart 6.1 : Coresidence by Occupation, 1891 *

* For Occupational Groups, see Appendix One

Within the community, the occupational group that stands out as having been much less likely to have had coresident kin to turn to were those in domestic service - predominantly female, and predominantly living as the only servant in the household. For nearly half of those in domestic service, then, the community was comparatively loose-knit, from the point of view of availability of coresident kin.

Many lodgers also lacked coresident kin in their social networks, although a quarter did lodge with kin. (10) Whilst the largest numbers of lodgers not living with kin were miners, and people working in manufacturing, the numbers are so low that it could not be said that these occupational groups were characterised in any way by a lack of coresident kin available to provide support, significant though this may have been for the individuals concerned.

The data show significant patterns by occupation and gender for those living alone. First, by far the largest number of people living alone were women not in paid full time employment, over the age of sixty. Yet again, a female segment of the community is identified as having potentially less social support. Secondly, compared to other occupational groups, there were a relatively large proportion and number of those occupied in dealing living alone, and within this group the majority were female and widowed. (11) It is clear from the data that significant groups in the community who did not have the support of coresident kin were women. This is a paradox, given the emphasis placed upon centrality of women in kinship networks, and the reliance on their labour by the largest paid occupational groups. Whilst autobiographical evidence in the literature indicates that women were major contributors to social networks, the evidence presented above suggests that women were the less likely than men to receive coresidential support from kin. (12)

(b) Coresidence by Place of Birth

For *all* groups, the overwhelming likelihood was that wherever individuals were born, the great majority had relatives to turn to for help within their household. However there is some variation. Those born in Madeley were the most likely to have lived with kin, followed by those born in a neighbouring parish. Those born elsewhere in Shropshire, in Staffordshire or further afield were the least likely to

have lived with kin. There seems to have been a straightforward ' distance decay ' effect, in which the further away an individual was born, the less likely he or she was to have kin available in the same household for support, and the more likely it was that he or she was a lodger or servant. It appears that those who may have felt themselves to have been socially marginalised already, not having been ' born and brought up ' in the parish, may have felt further marginalised by not having a coresident kinship group to turn to.

	With Kin		**Lodgers**		**Servants**		**Alone**	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Madeley	1681	95.51	22 (i)	1.25	32	1.81	25	1.42
N' brg. Parish	373	90.31	5	1.21	21	5.08	14	3.38
Shropshire	331	85.75	2 (ii)	0.51	21	5.44	22	5.67
Staffordshire	115	86.46	8 (iii)	6.01	9	6.76	1	0.75
Elsewhere	180	86.95	9	5.00	15	8.33	5	2.77
Whole Community		92.02		2.20		2.41		2.34

Table 6.4 : Coresidence by Place of Birth, 1891 (population aged 10 and over)

(i) 7 lodging with kin ii) 2 lodging with kin (iii) 4 lodging with kin

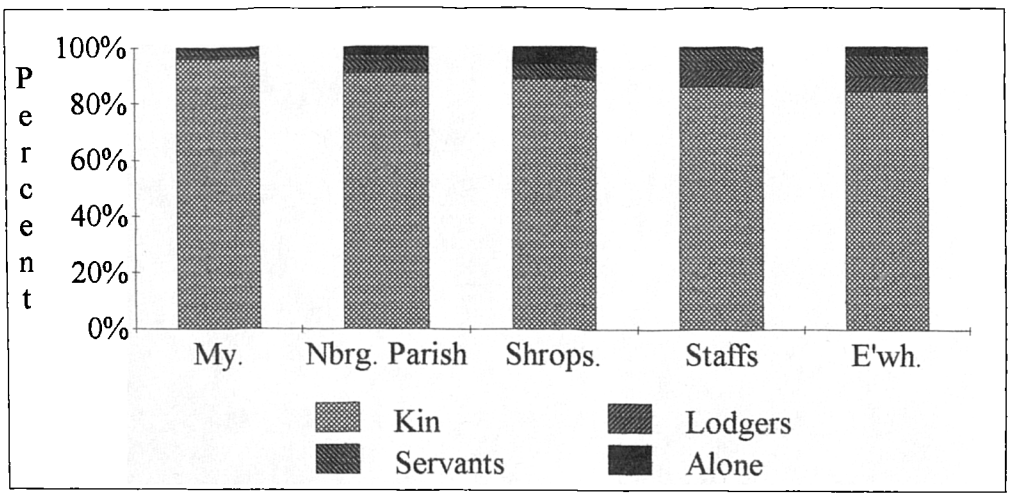


Chart 6.2 : Coresidence by Place of Birth, 1891

Place of birth was clearly an influential factor related to the availability of kin for social or economic support, and individual perceptions of social relationships within the community, and therefore both the structure and content of kinship networks.

(ii) Family Structure

The data for coresidence of individuals has given a detailed picture of the composition of kinship networks for all members of the community over the age of ten. However by focusing upon the great majority who did live with kin, and by analysing family structure, it is possible both to understand more fully the extent to which the extended family maintained networks, and offered each other support, and to compare coresident family structure in Madeley with that in other late nineteenth-century mining communities.

	Madeley	Cradley	Lower Gornal	Highley
Alone	7.85	0 (0.9)	0.8 (2.8)	*1.1*
Nuclear	70.89	90.6 (86.2)	87.7 (78.0)	79.1
3 generation	14.00	5.3 (2.7)	2.2 (6.4)	6.0
Wider kin/other	7.24	4.0 (10.1)	9.2 (12.8)	12.1
Number of households	828	109 (75)	218 (489)	

Table 6.5 : Family Structure in Mining Communities, 1891 (percent) (13)

Note : Figures for Cradley and Lower Gornal are for the working class only, excluding miner heads of household.. Figures in brackets refer to families headed by miners only.

For all the coal mining communities the dominant family structure was nuclear. Yet there are clear differences between them, despite the fact that the data refer to the same year, and the communities are not a great distance from each other. There is not a clear contrast between well established, and newly established, communities and it is probable that a number of different factors, such as population mobility,

housing availability, work opportunities and age structure, were influencing family structure in different ways.

In both Madeley and Highley around a fifth of family units were extended. In these communities therefore, a wide range of kin were demonstrably an important component of social networks, since they were present on a daily basis. This is despite the fact that the former was a well established mining community, whereas the latter was recently established.

However, this broad statistic masks an important difference between the two. A much higher proportion of families in Madeley were three generation units. As a long established community, a higher proportion of grandparents may have been present and available to provide support, especially by bringing up grandchildren, as will be discussed further below. The higher proportion of families that included wider kin in Highley has been clearly linked to the help provided by siblings in terms of accommodation, at periods of rapid growth and housing shortage. (14) There appears, therefore, to have been a strong relationship between family structure and kinship networks, and the extent to which the community was well or newly established.

It could also be argued that communities that consisted of a relatively high proportion of ' wider kin ' families were even more closely-knit, in that ' wider kin ' perceived themselves as being under less obligation, and more distantly related than members of three generation units according to Bourke, so that help from wider kin could be thought of as having been more altruistic. (15) On this measure Madeley was less close-knit than the other mining communities in 1891. Madeley also appears less close-knit than the other mining communities in that a much higher proportion of ' family ' units were, in fact, those living alone, as discussed above.

(a) Family Structure by Occupation

	T No.	Alone (%)	Nuclear (%)	3 Generation (%)
M	257	3	79	14
MF	175	3	81	13
D	9	11	67	11
AG	55	5	71	19
T	30	0	73	13
I.S.	46	2	70	7

Table 6.6 : Family Structure by Occupation of Head of Household, 1891 *

* For Occupational Categories, see Appendix One
Note : Only occupational groups comprising 30 or more households were included.

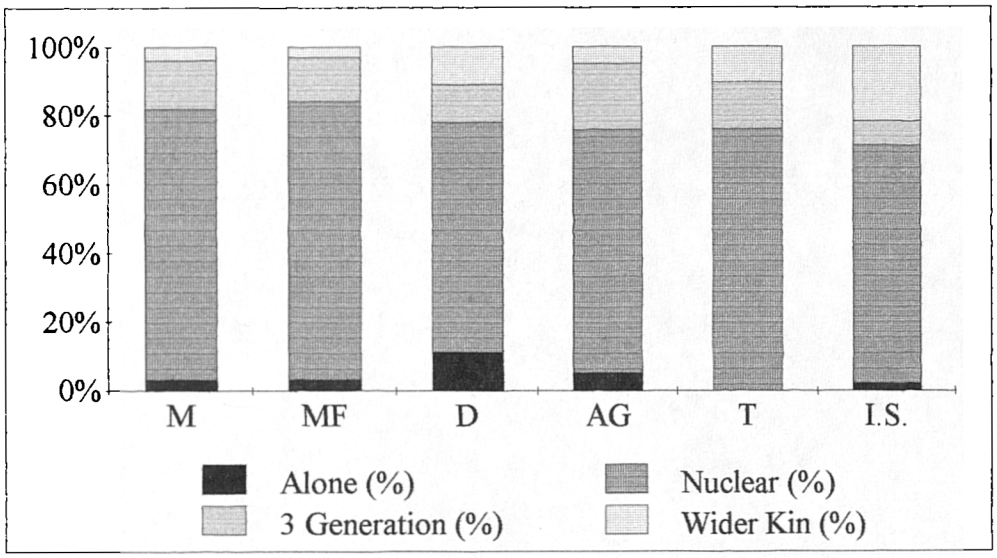


Chart 6.3 : Family Structure by Occupation of Head of Household, 1891 *

* For Occupational Categories, see Appendix One

It is clear that significant contrasts of family structure did exist according to the occupation of the head of household, which in turn affected the composition and structure of kinship social networks.

Households headed by an individual occupied in mining or manufacturing were the most likely to have been nuclear units, compared to those headed by individuals in

other occupational groups. (16) If they were not, a three generation household was most probable. This is consistent with the relationship between persistence and family structure discussed above - that three generation families were more prevalent where persistence was higher, and wider kin units were more common where persistence was lower. In this case, it has been shown in chapter five that those employed in mining and manufacturing were more persistent, so it is entirely probable that grandparents were more often able to live with children and/or grandchildren. It may be that the high proportion of labourers' families - over a quarter - living in wider kin units is also related to their mobility, and the pattern noted above of siblings often helping each other with accommodation in these circumstances, or simply due to economic necessity and poverty.

On the other hand, the relative likelihood of those employed in dealing to live alone, or in wider kin units is more likely to have been related to the nature of the occupation itself, which could be undertaken by individuals, or run as a family concern, as discussed above. Similarly, the running of farms as family concerns, and the availability of tied housing for labourers may have increased the proportion of three generation households. This may also have applied to households of those working in mining and manufacturing. (17)

In some cases it is possible to speculate more readily upon the balance of advantages that led to individuals with different kinship relationships choosing to live together, and the link that this may have had to occupation, but in others it is less clear. A number of factors are likely to have been involved, operating together in a variety of ways. It would be misleading to suggest that the patterns shown for the community as a whole could be explained by a few simplistic cause and effect relationships, just as great caution is needed when interpreting the extent to which individuals could be said to have been altruistic, according to the kind of family unit in which they lived.

Nevertheless, it is possible to say with confidence from the data that only in households headed by dealers did over a tenth have no coresident kin within social networks. Mining and manufacturing families were less likely than others to have included coresident grandparents, aunts or uncles, which could be taken as evidence that in this respect, they were less close-knit than other households, as it cannot be shown that kin renewed social links as frequently, or that they could have helped each other as readily. In these terms, labourers' households were the most close-knit, having been the most likely of all occupational groups to have included the extended family, particularly wider kin, whose help may have been more altruistic. (18)

(b) Family Structure by Place of Birth

	Total No.	Alone	Nuclear	3 Generation	Wider Kin
Madeley	368	6	73	14	7
Nbrg. Parish	130	10	68	18	4
E/where Shrops.	153	13	64	16	8
Elsewhere	101	6	76	7	11
Overall	752	8	71	14	7

Table 6.7 : Family Structure by Place of Birth, 1891 (percent)

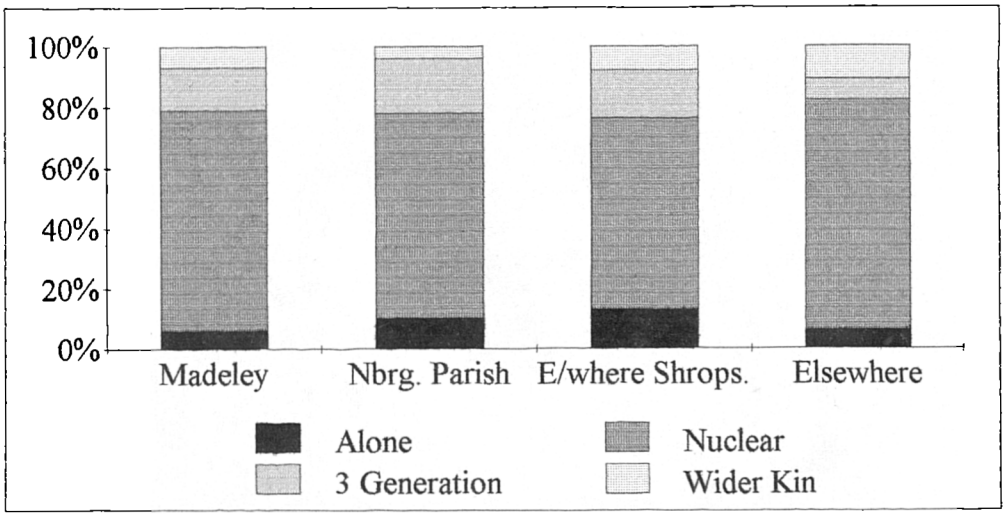


Chart 6.4 : Family Structure by Place of Birth (percent)

Whilst there is not the direct distance decay effect shown for the relationship between coresident kin and place of birth for family structure, there are significant patterns according to this variable.

Families in which the head of household was born outside Shropshire were much less likely to have lived in extended family units, and so their social networks were less likely to have comprised kinship links renewed on a daily basis. However a higher proportion of those born outside the county did live with wider kin than did any of the other groups by place of birth. Reference has been made above to the evidence linking this type of family structure to migration, and the ways that kin helped each other in this process, which seems to be the most probable explanation in this case.

Over a fifth of all families in which the head of household was born in Shropshire (including Madeley and neighbouring parishes) did nevertheless comprise extended family units, most often of three generations. A range of kin therefore comprised a significant element of social networks for a substantial proportion of these families. This evidence also appears to confirm the link between three generation families and stability, or migration within a limited geographical range.

Those living in households in which the head was born either in neighbouring parishes, or elsewhere in Shropshire were more likely than others to have lived alone. It might have been expected that it would have been probable that those born outside Shropshire would have lived alone, since families were likely to have lived elsewhere. Contrary to expectations then, those living in households in which the head was born outside the county were less likely to have kinship social networks that were more limited in this way. By contrast, kin were less central to the networks of heads of household born more locally, by not being available within the household to give support.

2. Neighbours and Kinship

The extent to which neighbours were also kin provides a further measure of the structure of kinship networks in the community - in particular the extent to which neighbourhood and kinship networks overlapped. The more that this was the case, the more close-knit a community could be said to have been. It has often been suggested that mining communities were close-knit because not only did ' everyone know everyone ', but also because neighbours were often also kin. Thus, it is implied, not only were non-related neighbours, with whom relationships had been built up over many years, available and ready to help, but so also were neighbours who were also kin, who were even more ready to do so, particularly when that help was likely to have been longer term, or more demanding.

This stereotype has its origins in the concept of the ' gemeinschaftlich ' traditional working class communities described by Tonnies. (19) Perhaps the most influential applications of the idea to mining communities have appeared both in the work of Bulmer, who referred to " the densely-woven world of kin and neighbours, " as illustrated in Durham and Yorkshire, (20) and confirmed by the observations of 'Ashton ' in the classic work of Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter. (21) Warwick and Littlejohn, referring to the latter, express the point thus, " the *vast majority* of households were linked in networks of face-to-face relationships, based on kinship and propinquity. " (22) Although these two examples relate to the first half of the twentieth century, they have been taken to apply to mining communities in the nineteenth century. Williamson, for example, although more cautious, suggests that " habits of mutuality, supplemented by neighbourliness, were *often* rooted in kinship ". (23)

These assertions have been given little detailed scrutiny for late nineteenth-century mining communities. Yet, as in the case of establishing the persistence of married women, not only is oral evidence available for the closing years of the nineteenth century, but so are census and parish data. These have not been exploited to establish with more certainty the extent to which neighbours were often kin, and to provide a more accurate picture of the nature of the social networks.

In this research, two approaches have been used. First, transcripts of interviews with elderly inhabitants of Madeley have been consulted. These sources do not have the potential bias of published autobiographies, in which the authors may have been those who were most successful in the community, and wished to communicate a positive view, but they may well not be typical, in that it is likely that these individuals were approached to give interviews precisely because they had lived in the community for a comparatively long time. By definition, the ' movers ' were not there to be asked. (24)

The other approach to be taken gives an indication of the overall pattern, and the extent to which the oral evidence may or may not have been typical of the community as a whole. It uses the parish marriage registers in conjunction with the 1891 census to trace the extent to which both sets of parents of married couples also lived in the community or neighbourhood. (25)

(i) Oral Evidence

On the one hand, the experiences of those interviewed could be used to demonstrate that a range of kin lived nearby, and were available to provide help. Mr. Fidler stated that in Madeley Wood, " there wasn't many as wasn't a relation all round here. It got that way you know. " Six out of nineteen interviewees mentioned aunts or uncles living nearby, sometimes very close, and sometimes

working together. (26) Mr. Heighway's aunt lived above his own home, and Doris Reynold's aunt lived next door. Fred Lloyd's father and three uncles worked at Blist's Hill and Edith Wale's uncle ran the ferry at Coalport for many years. Of course where families were large, and children mostly survived, it is not surprising that for those who were ' stayers ', there were many adult siblings and their families living in the community. Doris Reynolds recalled that of the fourteen houses at Blist's Hill, two were knocked together to accommodate very large families, and that she was one of twelve children, and she could remember other families in the row of 18,12,13 and 10 children. (27) Whereas the statistical data examined above indicate that only about 7 % of family households were wider kin units, and only about 7 % of individual community members lived with kin outside the nuclear family, the oral evidence suggests that for at least a third of individuals, kin were also neighbours, though not coresident.

Furthermore, for the six interviewees referred to above, and a further four individuals, there were also grandparents, either on one, or both sides of the family. Some also lived very close by, and could keep in touch with the family daily. Mr. Heighway's grandmother lived fifty yards away from his house, and Doris Reynold's grandmother was next door. (28) This evidence therefore indicates that for at least half the community at least one parent or grandparent was likely to have lived nearby, whereas the family structure data show just 14 % of households as three generation units. It has been noted that the interviewees were more likely to have been ' stayers ' in the community, since they were available to give their experiences. It is probable, therefore, that their evidence is not typical of the whole community in this respect, and that on average a proportion near or below a half of community members had a parent or grandparent living nearby is more realistic. However, together with the statistical evidence, it appears that for at least half of the community a parent or grandparent either lived in the same household, or nearby.

On the other hand, as many interviewees did not mention either aunts, uncles or grandparents as did, and some just mentioned one grandparent. Albert Owen said specifically that he never knew one grandfather, most probably because he had died before Mr Owen was born. (29) This situation may have occurred often for younger children in the family, where families were large, and life expectancy shorter. Nellie Wright stated that both her grandmothers had remarried after their husbands died. (30) Four referred to the fact that they, or other members of the family, had moved from elsewhere. In these cases clearly some relatives probably did not live in Madeley. In only a minority of cases were a number of aunts, uncles or grandparents mentioned, and neither is it clear how long the relatives who were mentioned stayed in the community.

Taking all the oral evidence together, it appears that for at least a third of the community there were a range of relatives living nearby, and for at least a half neighbours included at least one relation outside the nuclear family. However, as many of the sample of interviewees did not mention kin in the community (although they may have existed) as did, which together with the evidence that some did not know all of their grandparents, and that some parts of families had moved from elsewhere, suggests that for a substantial minority, neighbours did not include kin, who therefore were not part of immediate social networks. It also needs to be borne in mind that it may have more often been the case that neighbours were kin at the beginning of the twentieth century in Madeley than towards the end of the nineteenth, as hinted by Fred Fidler's phrase quoted above, " it got like that, you know ".

(ii) Statistical Evidence (31)

This sample does provide evidence that parents or parents-in-law were living in the community. Slightly over half of the couples (16) had parents from at least one side of the family living locally, and a quarter had parents or parents-in-law living either in the same street, or in a terrace off the same street. None had parents or parents-in-law living on opposite sides of the community. It appears that where families did live within the community, they tried to live as close to each other as they could, to be able to support each other as much as possible. Fred Fidler, commented, " if a house got empty, there was somebody, you didn't need worry about applying for it - it was already spoke for. " It appears that people in the neighbourhood kept an eye out for houses that were about to become vacant, so that their relatives could apply to live there, and move closer. And these data are surprisingly close to the oral evidence - in other words indicating that around half of the community had at least one parent living nearby.

Nevertheless, the evidence that parents or parents-in-law were not neighbours is almost as strong. Very nearly half of the married couples still living in the community in 1891 had neither sets of parents living nearby, and less than a quarter of the total sample had one or more parents from both sides of the family. Furthermore, only three couples, less than 10 % of the sample, had both parents on both sides of the family living in Madeley. It was therefore unusual for couples to have the support of both sets of parents, and many had none.

In addition, it was not any more likely that the wife's parents would live nearby than the husband's. Furthermore, for five out of the eleven cases where one or more of the wife's parents did live in the community, the mother had died, and the father was left as a single parent to support the remaining children. Much emphasis has been put in the literature of the importance of, and strength of, the relationship

between a mother and her daughters. (32) Whilst this must have depended to some extent upon the number of children, and the position of the daughters amongst siblings, in Madeley in 1891 the data indicate that under a fifth of mothers and daughters had the opportunity to maintain this relationship. On the other hand, nearly half of the husbands in the sample had fathers living nearby. The data appear to suggest that perhaps the importance of the relationship between mother and daughter may have been overemphasised, whereas the importance of that between father and son has not been given the recognition that it may merit.

These data, then, can again be interpreted to present contrasting views of the strength and structure of kinship networks in the community. A slight majority of the sample had at least one parent or parent-in-law living nearby, which could be used as evidence to show that kinship networks did more often than not overlap with those of neighbours. However, a slight majority of husbands, and a clear majority of wives, did not have a parent of their own gender to turn to in the community, which could be taken to indicate that in terms of this most siginificant kinship relationship, networks were not strong.

Taking all the evidence relating to the extent to which neighbours were kin , it appears that no more than barely half of community members had family members living nearby, and if they did, they did not necessarily include kin from both sides of the family. Therefore whilst kin and neighbourhood social networks clearly did often overlap, it would be an exaggeration to say, as in 'Ashton ', that for the vast majority neighbours were also kin, and that in comparison to that community, and to those to which Bulmer referred in his model, that there was less overlap between neighbourhood and kinship networks in the research community in 1891.

3. Support Roles

The *ways* in which kin supported each other, that have previously been identified in the literature, are re-examined in this section, as they relate to Madeley in 1891. The primary aim is therefore to clarify aspects of the *content* of social networks, insofar as they apply to kinship links. However in so doing, and by analysing in depth the content of the categories analysed for family structure, it is possible to gain further insights into the *structure* of kinship networks.

In chapter three the literature relating to kinship networks in late nineteenth-century mining communities was summarised, and specific situations in which kin supported each other were identified. (33) These will be considered in turn, in terms of the content of social links between kin.

(i) Coresidence of Newly Married Couples with Parents

A quarter of newly married couples did live with parents in the research community in 1891, supporting Benson's generalisation for nineteenth-century miners that " they *often* made their first home with their parents. " (34) However it is less clear whether the reason for so-doing was " to look after ageing parents."

Total number of couples in life cycle stages 1 and 2 (i):	64
Total number living with parents :	16
Percent " " " :	25
Number " " widowed parent :	11
" " " working parent :	12
" " " wife's parents :	4

Table 6.8 : Sharing of Households between Newly Married Couples and Parents, 1891

(i) Wife under 45 years of age, with either no children, or one child under the age of one.

Almost three quarters of all newly married couples who did live with parents lived with just one parent who had been widowed. It therefore appears that it was much more likely for this arrangement to have been entered into if the parent was alone, rather than ageing. And the reason for sharing a household does not appear to have arisen because the parent was either physically or economically unable to provide for her or himself, since three quarters of all parents who coresided with newly married children were working. It does not appear, then, that the arrangement was a consequence of physical or economic need, which leaves the alternative of social need, or preference on the part of the parent. For the newly married couple, if economic need were imperative, then it might be expected that there would have been more evidence of sharing accommodation with both parents. It seems that social support, and also the opportunity to find housing near work and family, were likely to have been important motives, rather than the need to help physically frail parents.

A quarter of those newly married couples who lived with parents did so with the wife's parents. A possible explanation for this clear imbalance may be that the couple tended to set up home closer to the husband's place of work, for obvious reasons, and that this was often also where the husband's father worked (see findings below on employment). If the couple were to live with parents, it was therefore more probable that it would be with the husband's, if both sets of parents did not live close to each other. As a result, it was more difficult for the wife to keep in very close touch with her mother for three quarters of newly married couples, than it was for the husband to keep in very close touch with his father, casting some doubt upon the emphasis that has been placed upon the particular closeness of mother - daughter relationships. (35)

(ii) Coresidence of Single Adults with their Parents

Of a total community population over the age of 10 of nearly 3,000, just 83 were over 20, and had not married. Remaining single into adulthood was clearly unusual. It was also far more common for single adults to live with siblings, who were either single themselves, or who shared their married home, than for single adults to have lived with parents. This was the preferred arrangement for over half of the single adults , and clearly the need to care for elderly parents by sharing a home was not their reason for having remained single. Only two unmarried adults lived with both parents, one of whom worked in each case, so even in this situation it appears that the parents were at least to some extent economically self-sufficient.

Over a third of the single adults lived with a widowed parent, who, in most cases was working, so was physically fit, and was not economically dependent. However, more widows than widowers lived with single children (19, compared to 10). The explanation here is likely to be twofold. It was the case that widows were less likely to have a regular income, so were in greater economic need. Widows also had more also to offer in the domestic setting, in terms of cooking and household management skills, as pointed out by Bourke. However, it does not necessarily follow, as she indicates for working class twentieth-century kin relationships, that older women were more welcome in the home - merely that the balance of need and help offered tilted in favour of sharing with widows. (36)

If the prime motive for sharing was that the widowed parent needed care in old age, then it might be expected that coresident children would have been more often female. However it was often the case that a number of adult single children lived with a widowed parent, often also only single sons. In this situation the sons and daughters could take on the role of wage earners whilst their mother continued in her role as manager of the home, to the advantage of all involved.

Adult single children did not therefore generally remain single in order to look after frail parents. It was usually mutually beneficial for single adult children to live with kin, who most often were siblings, but sometimes were widowed parents. In the latter case, it was more often mothers who lived with adult single children, whose incomes were more limited, but whose home management skills were greater than those of widowers.

(iii) Coresidence of Widows and Widowers with Kin

Nearly all widowers were in full time paid employment, and over half of widows either worked, or provided for themselves, so probably did not need the economic support of kin. In fact the total of widows either engaged in full time paid employment, or providing for themselves by their ' own means ' is probably very much an underestimate. Many widows who did not give an entry in the employment column did provide for themselves through casual work, or earlier savings. The ten widows who lived alone, and a further two who lived with children who were not earning must have found alternative means of support, which indicates that in all likelihood many more widows, apparently not shown as working in the census data, were in fact providing for themselves by other means. Widows took up a whole range of work - for example cleaning, or laundry work. Doris Reynold's grandmother avoided the workhouse by washing the dresses of the ladies of the Anstice family. (37) Others became innkeepers, and some continued occupations that they may have run alongside their husbands when they were alive, such as a haulier, wheelwright, or shopkeeper. In the late nineteenth century life expectancy may not have been as great, but most could expect to be able to continue working almost all of their lives, confirmed by George Jenks, who said that, " plenty worked on into their 70's if they were able to attend their work. " (38)

	Widows		Widowers		
	working/ own means	no stated work	working	no stated work	Total
With working children or grandchildren					
Single	25	25	37	3	90
Married, with family	9	17	12	2	40
With grandchildren or children not working					
Single	6	2	4	1	13
With wider kin	5	6	5	0	16
Not with kin					
Alone	18	10	6	1	35
As boarder/lodger	1	1	8	0	10
With lodgers	4	4	0	0	8
With servant/housekeeper	3	0	5	1	9
Total	71	65	77	8	221

Table 6.9 : Employment Status and Coresidence of Widows and Widowers, 1891 (number)

Nevertheless, 72 % of widows or widowers in the community did live with kin, and most lived with single children. In two thirds of these households, not only were the children working full time, but so were their widowed parents, who therefore did not need physical care. In most of these households there was not one, or even two, children as carers in the household, but a number, some of whom were working, some of whom were still at school, and of both genders. The impression given is one of members of nuclear households having stayed together, despite the loss of a parent, and not of one or two children having remained single and at home specifically to care for the parent, as has been suggested in the literature. This could be taken as evidence of particularly close-knit families, in which children were reluctant to get married and leave home, who valued their

relationships at home highly. This applied to Amy Thorne, who cried alone at the thought of her home, as her father went back from the farm where he worked, leaving her to stay as domestic servant. (39) It was also clearly likely that adults became widowed whilst still having children living at home when families were large, and child bearing had continued over many years, and it was therefore not unusual for children to have experienced the loss of a parent before they left home.

Did kin other than single working children, then, look after the remaining third of widows and widowers who lived with kin ? Yet again, nearly all widowers, and about half of the widows worked full time, or lived on their own means. Most within this group lived with married sons or daughters and their families - about a fifth of all widows and widowers. In this situation there could have been mutual benefits arising from sharing. Working widows and widowers brought a further income to the household, and whether working or not, potential help with child care and household chores. For the parents, living costs could be minimised, and chores shared. Furthermore, for all there was the potential availability of moral and social support.

For some, kin were not available to share a home within the community, and a substantial proportion - 28%, of widows and widowers did not live with kin. Many of this group had been born outside the coalfield, so may well not have had relatives living nearby with whom they could share a home. It would also probably be a mistake to assume that given the opportunity, all widows and widowers would have preferred to live with kin for social support. Many may have preferred to live independently. This conclusion is indicated by the fact that a higher proportion of widows than widowers did not live with kin (30%, compared to 25%). Widows, with their greater skills in looking after a home and cooking, were better equipped to live alone, and a fifth did so, compared to only 8% of widowers. Furthermore, 8 took in lodgers, and cared for them, as a supplement to their income, without

coresident kin, whereas widowers who were not living with kin were much more likely to have borne the expense of lodging with someone else, or of employing a servant or housekeeper. It therefore appears that at least a quarter of widows and widowers preferred to live independently, when they were able to do so.

For those widows and widowers who did not live with kin, almost the only alternative to supporting oneself was the workhouse. In Madeley workhouse there were no widows, and just two widowers who had been born in the parish (one a wheelwright, and the other a farm labourer). It appears, then, that if widows or widowers could not make a viable income, that they shared a household with kin, except in a very few cases.

It has therefore been suggested that although nearly three quarters of widows and widowers lived with kin, the evidence indicates that the advantages of such an arrangement probably applied to all concerned, and that those who lived alone may have preferred to do so.

(iv) Care of Children by Kin other than Parents

Exactly one hundred and fifty children in the community were not living with one or both of their parents, but with other relatives. This represents just 8.17 % of all children living with older kin, which may seem a small proportion, but it is a significant number, and the figure would certainly be higher if children under the age of ten were included. It is larger than any other part of the community that has been identified in this section, as being individuals who may be being supported by kin through coresidence. Expressed in this way, it therefore seems that kin may have provided more support for children than for other relatives.

	Adult Working		Adult not Working		
	child working	child not working	child working	child not working	Total
Grandparents	8	64	0	2	74
Grandmother	7	9	2	7	25
Grandfather	4	11	3	1	19
Aunt/Uncle	7	10	1	1	19
Other/Adopted	0	13	0	0	13
Total	26	107	6	11	150

Table 6.10 : Economic Status and Coresidence of Children not Living with Parents (number)

Over 80 % of children not living with their parents were living with grandparents - usually both, but also with grandmothers and grandfathers alone, in almost equal proportions. Table 6.10 shows that it was overwhelmingly the case that the adults were working (88.66 %), and in most of these cases (71.33 %) it was *only* the adults, and not the children who were employed. In only 4 % of the households in which children lived with grandparents were the children working, and not the adults. It seems clear then, that grandparents were caring for the children, rather than the reverse, and the explanation that seems the most plausible is that this was most often a response to large families and overcrowded houses. Doris Reynolds remarked that two houses at Blist's Hill were knocked into one, to accommodate particularly large families, and that family sizes there ranged from 10 to 18. She herself went to live with her grandma, and stated that such an arrangement was common. George Jenks was brought up by his grandparents, even though his mother lived close enough to be able to get him a job where she worked, at Coalport chinaworks. (40)

To what extent may this have meant that these children had little contact or support from their parents or brothers and sisters ? The census data for 1891 show that families sharing the same surname as a child living with other relatives often

lived a few doors away - it seems likely that they were the child's family. In addition, about two thirds of the children not living with parents were born in the parish of Madeley. It has been shown above that for up to half of the community, neighbours probably included kin, and the analysis of persistence in chapter five has shown that there was a good deal of local migration within the parish, and into neighbouring parishes. It was therefore likely that children living with members of the extended family did live within a few miles of their parents, so could maintain contact on at least a weekly, if not a daily, basis.

It does seem that multigenerational help, if not common, as claimed in the Durham coalfield, was not uncommon, and that wider kin also helped in the bringing up of children. (41) This kind of long term commitment by the extended family could be interpreted as suggesting that social networks amongst kin were particularly strong and altruistic.

(v) Parental Support for Daughters who were Single Mothers

If it is accepted that Shropshire's reported illegitimacy rate of 7.9 % for 1890 is broadly accurate, and that the rate in the research community is likely to have been close to this figure, then approximately 145 children in the community would have been illegitimate in 1891. (42)

However, there is only positive evidence of 2 illegitimate children in the census living with unmarried parents, one more from the baptismal records living with her mother and her family, and 3 unmarried mothers in the workhouse. (43) The child identified in the baptismal records was not recorded as illegitimate in the census. There may therefore have been many more illegitimate children living in the community, who were not recorded as such in the census, and who had been baptised before 1891. It also seems likely that the 57 children in the census who

were living with relatives not identified as parents may well have also been illegitimate, either because their place of birth was far from Madeley, or because single daughters who were old enough to have been the child's mother, also lived in the same household.

It does therefore seem very probable that parents of illegitimate children often married after the birth of the child, the pregnant mother having previously been cared for by her parents, as reported by John from oral evidence, since there are so few identifiable illegitimate children by comparison to the overall rate given for Shropshire. (44) It may well have been, therefore, that there were around 150 illegitimate children living in the research community, at least a fifth of whom had probably been given a home, usually with the mother, during 1891 by grandparents, or other kin, either long term, or more often until the parents had married.

(vi) Support from Kin during the Migration Process

As has been pointed out in chapter five, little, if any, detailed statistical research has been carried out that deals with migration within, or to, late nineteenth century mining communities, and still less attention has been paid to the role of kin in that process. This is surprising, given the readily available source of the census, and the fact that Anderson's work on migration into mid century Preston, although not a mining community, has demonstrated the value of such a source. (45)

In this analysis the definition of ' migrants ' to be used is all those who had moved into the community since 1881, rather than those not born in the parish. In this way those for whom migration has been a recent experience, and who may therefore have been more strongly affected by the process in 1891 are identified. The definition will be applied to the whole community, rather than heads of household

alone, consistent with the inclusive approach that values all individuals adopted in this research. Three quarters of the community are migrants by this definition, so the role that kin played in the process could have been a major factor shaping social networks in Madeley.

	Madeley				Highley
	Community Members		Migrants		
	No.	%	No.(i)	%	% (ii)
Nuclear family	2459	84.82	1838	83.62	63.7
Wider kin	209	7.20	161	7.32	2.8
Lodger	64	2.20	56	2.54	19.2
Servant	99	3.41	89	4.04	9.8
Alone	63	2.17	51	2.32	
Other	7	0.17	3	0.13	
Total	2901	100	2198	100	100

Table 6.11 : Coresidence of Migrants in the Research Community and Highley,1891 (46)

(i) Migrants defined as those not living within the community in 1881 = 75.76% of total population in 1891
(ii) Migrants defined as (i) above.

Over four fifths of migrants to the research community had the possibility of support from other members of the nuclear family available within the household after migration, and over nine tenths from kin. Less than a tenth of migrants did not have the support of kin after migration, through coresidence. Potentially kin therefore provided a major source of support for migrants. By contrast in Highley, with its recently developed mine, and growing population, a substantially larger proportion of those who had moved to the community over the previous ten years - over a quarter - did not have the potential support of coresident kin, and a much higher percentage of migrants were lodgers. There therefore appears to have been a clear contrast in the extent to which kin were able to give support on arrival according to the degree of development of the community. Clearly kinship

networks were more often important in the process of migration in the research community.

Both the content and quality of kinship links were affected by the extent to which kin could have given social and moral support to each other, not only by sharing a home after migration, but also by migrating together as a group, or by providing a 'base' for kin migrating alone to a new community. And a third group of migrants can be identified - those for whom it appears that kin did not, or were not able to, provide support during or after migration, through coresidence. (47)

	Migrants (i)			
	With kin		Without kin	
	No.	0%	No.	0%
Nuclear Family	1776	81	62	2.8
Wider kin	154	7	7	0.3
Lodger			56	2.5
Servant			89	4.1
Alone			51	2.3
Other			3	0.1
Total	1930	88	268	12.2

Table 6.12 : Probable Extent of Migration with Kin (48)

(i) Migrants defined as those not living within the community in 1881 = 75.76% of total population in 1891

The evidence suggests that over four fifths of migrants did migrate with those kin with whom they lived in 1891, almost entirely nuclear family members. In other words the household kinship network was maintained, and social and moral support was potentially available from those kin throughout the process of moving.

Only 3.13 % of migrants appear to have migrated alone, to join kin in the community, and only 7 of these came to live with wider kin. The majority were children - 3 girls and a boy. It seems that in this situation aunts and uncles took in children from large families, as was reported in the oral evidence. (49) 6 of the 7

people who moved to live with wider kin had either been born in Madeley or a neighbouring parish. It was likely, therefore, for these few individuals, that kinship links were loosened rather than disrupted, with the nuclear family still living within a few miles. It appears that in the research community there is no evidence for the pattern found by Anderson in Preston in 1851, that wider kin provided a residential base for kin migrating to the town for the first time, looking for work and accommodation. (50) Perhaps this is not surprising in a community experiencing net *emigration*, in which it was more likely that people were leaving in search of work, rather than arriving, and in which there was a consequence little shortage of housing. This is not to say that kin did not help each other at all on moving to Madeley - Mr. Lewis relates how his brother found him work at the chinaworks when he moved from Worcester. (51) But it does mean that when members of the family did move from elsewhere to Madeley, there was generally no need to help by providing accommodation.

A larger number, though still a small proportion, of those living with members of the nuclear family in 1891 appear to have migrated alone. Further analysis of the data helps to clarify the likely reasons, and the ways in which kin helped these individuals in the migration process.

Situation	**females**	**males**
(a) Marriage	35	0
(b) Widowed	3	3
(c) Children having lived with other relations	4	10
(d) Adult probably having temporarily moved away to work	4	10
(e) Husband absent - probably workng elsewhere	3	0
(f) Other	6	2
Total (52)	55	25
Place of Birth		
Madeley	39	16
Neighbouring Parish	8	5
Elsewhere	10	4

Table 6.13 : Circumstances of Lone Migrants Living with Nuclear Family, 1891

The situations identified in table 6.13 fall into two groups. In the first group, the disruption to kinship ties was more likely to have been long term, and to have entailed a fundamental change of kinship networks. This group included those who appear to have migrated to the community on marriage to set up a new household with their husband, and leaving parents, brothers and sisters. In the research community this group was entirely female, and it comprised the single largest group. Also in this group were widows and widowers, who may well have moved to live with their children on the death of their spouse.

The second group comprised those for whom migration was often only a temporary necessity, and for whom kinship ties were therefore generally loosened, in terms of the time period of the migration, as well as in some cases, the distance. Within this group were young people below the age of twenty. As they were too young to have moved away to work ten years earlier, the most probable explanation is that they went to live with other relations for a number of years, to reduce the pressure on their own family. More boys returned to the families than girls. It may have been, as in the Durham Coalfield , that it was more likely that boys, with fewer domestic skills, went to live with other relatives, returning when they were old enough to work, and contribute to the family income, whereas it was more common for girls to stay with their parents to help care for younger brothers and sisters. (53) One interviewee in the research community recalled that having lived with her grandmother and then her aunt, returned to her mother, when she become arthritic, to help her when she had more young children to care for. (54)

The second group also includes a significant number of men who appear to have left their nuclear family and the community, probably in search of work, to return at a later date. (55) This conclusion is given greater credence by the fact that the great majority of men in this situation were miners - the occupation in greatest

decline. This is a population movement that has not previously been identified from census data, and may well be one that was characteristic of communities in which the economy was stagnant, or in decline, and one which had a profound effect upon the continuity and strength of kinship networks, as well as other social networks in the community.

For a third group of migrants, there is no evidence that kin provided support during or after migration. This group comprised lodgers, servants and those living alone, and although proportionally it was less than 10 % of all migrants to the research community, it was not an insignificant group numerically - a hundred and ninetynine people. Furthermore, at least half of this group were female - domestic servants, and widows living alone.

Overall it can be seen that the great majority of migrants, in fact also a majority of the whole community, had migrated into the area over the preceding ten years with other family members. The majority of the community therefore potentially had the support of kin within the household after migration, with relatively little disruption to close kinship networks. For a small minority, kinship networks were disrupted to some extent during migration, but support from kin was available in the community after the move. For a larger minority, no coresident kinship support was available either during, or following migration. Women were the most liable to have to adjust to disruption of kinship networks and to have had less support from kin available during migration, due to marriage, taking up work as domestic servants, on widowhood, or coping with the absence of husbands looking for work. This is an aspect of social relationships within late nineteenth-century mining communities that has previously often been overlooked in the literature, stressing as it does the centrality of women in kinship networks. Men and boys were also liable to temporary disruptions, linked in many ways to the economic decline of the

region, most probably due to the need to search for work, and for other family members to help in the upbringing of large families.

(vii) Support from Kin in Finding Employment

' Family pits ' - those in which family members, especially fathers, found work for kin, especially sons, have frequently been noted in the literature relating to mining communities, though only for the occupation of mining. John noted the same tendency for pit brow lasses and their female relatives in Lancashire. (56) Finding work for family members was therefore one way in which kin developed the structure of each others' networks, through extending them and increasing the overlap between work and kin networks. Finding work for kin also affected the content of individuals' social links.

The census data were used to determine the extent to which coresident family members shared the same occupation. This provides a view of the extent to which coresident kin *could have* worked together, although it cannot of course show whether one family member actually obtained a job for another, or whether both had the same employer, or worked at the same mine, or worked on the same shift. (57) The census data cannot give information on the extent to which kin who did not share the same household may have helped each other through finding work. Nor can it reveal whether family members shared the same occupation because nothing else was available, or whether they had in fact helped each other. The data therefore give a broad indication, rather than a definitive picture, supplemented however by a rich source of oral evidence.

	Sons - fathers/grandfathers		Daughter - mothers		Siblings/other
	Same	**Different**	**Same**	**Different**	**Same**
Mining *	88	107	0	0	9
Iron Manuf.	10	22	0	0	0
Tile/brick	6	9	0	0	9
China	14	1	9	0	15
Other	42	118	5	2	18
Total	110	264	14	2	41

Table 6.14 : Coresident Kin and Occupation, 1891

* 21 pairs of father and son occupations are given as ironstone, clay or coal miner, but they are not the same for each pair. A further 17 pairs both had the same occupation as miners at Aqueduct, with just 7 having different occupations..

The data show that overall daughters and mothers, and siblings, were much more likely to have shared the same occupation than not, but that sons and fathers or grandfathers were more than twice as likely not to have done so. This finding appears to have been strongly controlled by the type of employment, and by the attitude of the employer, since it was almost entirely a result of employment patterns at the chinaworks.

Miners' sons were more likely to have followed their fathers' occupation than sons of fathers in other occupations (apart from china manufacture), even though most did not. This is not surprising on a well established coalfield, where relationships with employers could have been equally well established, so that fathers were more able to help their sons find work. The pattern was particularly marked at Aqueduct, where sons were *more* likely than not to have followed their fathers into mining. As outlined in chapter four, the Madeley Court Collieries were under different ownership than other collieries in the community, but even so, it is difficult to be confident of the reasons. The attitude of the owner or chartermasters may have been more paternalistic, there may have been more jobs available for sons, and less choice, given the relative isolation of Aqueduct, or there may have

been a link to housing, as James Forster had brought a large portion of his workforce and provided them with homes. (58) As Brown has reported that several generations of his family both worked for the Madeley Wood Company through the late nineteenth century, and were housed by them, the difference at Aqueduct appears to have been relatively strongly linked to job availability for sons. (59)

However, although a significant proportion of mining fathers may have found jobs for their sons, at least a quarter of those with the same occupation did not mine the same material, so certainly did not work underground together, although they may have worked at the same pit. Whilst fathers may have found jobs for their sons, therefore, and in so doing affected the structure of sons' social networks, the social links between father and son for many were not necessarily strengthened at work. Oral evidence confirms indications from the census. For example, all of Fred Lloyd's family worked for the Madeley Wood Company; his grandfather, an engineer, was based at Blist's Hill, and his father and three uncles worked there. However one uncle worked in the sawpit, another in the yard as an engineer, and the third in the brass shop. (60) All may have been classified as 'miners', since they all worked at a mine, although the men clearly did not work together, or necessarily at the same time. Neither did they necessarily help each other to get their jobs, although this may well have been the case. Only Fred Fidler specifically states that his grandfather took him to work at Blist's Hill, and also helped two other relatives to get work there. (61)

For women working at mines there is no evidence showing that pit brow lasses followed their mothers. However three sisters did work together on the pit bank, and it may be that too much emphasis has been put previously upon parents, especially fathers, finding work for children. The census data show that some coresident brothers shared the same occupation, and oral evidence confirms that a

range of family members, who did not all live together, often worked at the same place of work.

Kinship links seem to have been particularly important at the chinaworks at Coalport, where two hundred and twentyeight people living within the community were employed. Remarkably, of all those who worked there, lived within the community and had children, in only one case was the son or daughter not employed at the same place. Furthermore, since many women were employed there, although working in a separate room, not only did fathers and sons work there, but so did mothers and sons, and fathers and daughters. Nor was a common place of work limited to parent and child. Seven husbands and wives worked there, and eight groups of siblings - both brothers and sisters, as well as coresident aunt and nephew. A whole family, the Parkers, worked there. Many interviewees refer to family members working together at Coalport - Mrs. Adams' husband and ' his family ', Mr. George, his brother, father and mother, and Fred Fidler had aunts working there when he got his first job. Furthermore, a number of interviewees independently, and without solicitation, state that relatives did get them jobs at the chinaworks - Mr. Lewis' brother got him a job when he moved from Worcester, and Mrs. Lewis' cousins found her a job. (62) The evidence relating to employment at the chinaworks, then, appears to confirm the picture of relatives of all kinds helping each other to find work, of relatives having the opportunity to strengthen social links at work, and of the management of the chinaworks having been particularly keen to accommodate employees, whenever their relatives needed work. (63)

Turning to the remaining two occupational groups identified on table 6.14, only half as many sons working in iron manufacture shared the same occupation as their father, as did not. It appears to have been less likely that fathers did, or could, find work for their sons in this occupation than in mining, although it did occur. Joe

Pitchford, living in the neighbouring parish of Lawley, had a grandfather, father and three uncles all working as puddlers. (64) In tile and brick manufacture, although the numbers are small, it was often the case that fathers and sons shared the same occupation, and if siblings, including sisters, or cousins are included, it was more likely that family members shared the same occupation than did not.

It is important to bear in mind, though, that kin did not necessarily have to share the same occupation to help each other find work. Amy Thorne's father worked for the Yates cousins in Station Road, chopping corn for the pit ponies. When they needed a new domestic servant, he suggested his daughter. (65) The data provided by the census are therefore likely to underestimate the extent to which kin helped each other to find work, and also the extent to which they had the opportunity to strengthen links at work. Amy Thorne and her father's occupations were quite different, even though they shared the same employer, and place of work.

The evidence therefore indicates that whilst availability of work, and the attitude of employers were important factors, kin helped each other to find work in any occupation, and that this most often was possible at the chinaworks and in brick and tile manufacture, though it happened more frequently in mining than in the remaining occupational groups in the research community. This evidence also clearly indicates that the extent to which fathers helped their sons in this way may have been overemphasised, and the extent to which mothers, sisters and aunts, as well as brothers and uncles also helped to find work for kin may not have been given due recognition. Furthermore, it appears to have been the case that the strengthening of kinship links between mothers and daughters, and between siblings at work have not been given due recognition, nor the social importance of kinship links at work in occupations other than mining.

(viii) Other Support Roles

The census cannot reveal all of the many ways in which kin living in the community helped each other, and to discover the extent to which this occurred it is necessary to rely largely upon autobiographical evidence as a source.

Few researchers have distinguished support roles between kin beyond those discussed above, in relation to mining, or to working class communities in the late nineteenth century. Exceptionally, Bourke has emphasised the role of the grandmother in this context, having found that individuals referred to grandmothers helping at childbirth, giving advice, helping with housework and looking after children when the mother was working. (66) The latter certainly occurred in Madeley parish at the turn of the century, although it is impossible to say how common it was. (67)

It is difficult to find specific mention of help given by other relatives, although there is frequent reference in the literature to the centrality of women in social networks generally. (68) In Madeley there is reference to women helping their parents by doing their shopping on the way back from work, and also of a woman staying up through the night with her sister, whose children were dying. (69)

Also given little emphasis in the literature is the help given by children, both within the household, and for relatives living nearby. (70) The burden may have fallen particularly on older girls. In the research community girls collected the milk in the mornings, helped younger brothers and sisters get ready, helped every washday, read to illiterate fathers, and took lunch to fathers at work. (71) Boys also helped in this way, and did other fetching and carrying jobs - for example buying paraffin and beer. And boys as well as girls were kept off school on washdays to collect the water from the canal. (72) The records for the research community suggest,

though, that help was less freely given by the boys. Women do not mention having received any payment for their work, whereas Fred Lloyd says that the boys were " always looking for a copper or two ", and Mr. George even remembered how much he was paid for fetching - 1/2d for paraffin and 3d for a bucket of beer. (73) It could therefore be argued that there was a difference in the content of girls' kinship networks, in that they appear from this evidence to have been of a more altruistic nature.

Conclusion

A model has been proposed to provide a framework for the criteria that could be used to describe the extent to which a community was close-knit. One dimension of the model comprised the composition, structure and content of the social networks within the community, which were both influenced by kin, and comprised kin.

The analysis of kinship networks in this chapter has identified the characteristics of the composition, structure and content of these networks in Madeley in 1891. It has been shown that on the measure of the *composition* of kinship networks, considering coresidence, the research community was very close-knit, in that about nine tenths of the community lived with kin, who were thus readily available to support each other. This was broadly comparable with other well established late nineteenth-century mining communities, and a higher proportion than that of a newly established mining community. The data relating to the extent to which kin were also neighbours are less certain and precise, but do indicate that the research community could have been perceived as close-knit for probably up to half of its members, who also had relatives living nearby to turn to.

It has also been possible to understand more fully the *structure* of the kinship networks in the community, through an assessment of the relative importance of different kinds of family groupings within households and the community as a whole, through a measure of the extent to which kinship, neighbourhood and work networks overlapped, and through identification of subdivisions within the community, including possible ' outsiders ' and absentees.

Compared to the communities for which comparable data are available, a higher proportion of members of the research community lived with grandparents, grandchildren, or more distant relatives. Adult single children were also relatively likely to have lived with a sibling than with or near a parent. This could be taken to indicate that the community was comparatively close-knit, in that kinship networks were relatively *extensive*, and members of the wider family were prepared to help each other by sharing their homes. On the other hand, a higher percentage of individuals in the research community lived alone, which could be taken as an indication that in this respect the research community was *less* close-knit than the other coal mining communities for which these data are available for 1891, even if this was the preference of the members of the community. And the fact that neighbourhood and kinship networks overlapped to some extent for probably up to half of the inhabitants suggests that the community was less close-knit than has been suggested for other late nineteenth-century mining communities.

The chapter has shown a good deal of variation in the structure of kinship networks within the community, which could have resulted in social divisions, and in different individual perceptions of the extent to which the community was close-knit. It has been shown that there were differences by occupation, which is a view that has underlain the very concept of an occupational community, applied so frequently to mining communities. Those employed in mining, and in manufacturing (principally iron, china and tiles), the largest occupational groups,

were the most likely members of the community to have been living with kin, along with women not in full time or regular paid employment. On this measure, these members of the community were more likely to have frequent kinship contacts than were those employed in other occupations. Families headed by miners, or those employed in manufacturing, were also more likely to have lived in nuclear family units than were other families, in which, for example, it has been shown that children often lived with aunts, uncles or grandparents, rather than their own parents. Again this could be interpreted as suggesting that families not headed by a miner were more close-knit, as the wider family networks was more closely involved in care. At the other extreme, it has been shown that those employed in domestic service were least likely to have been living with their family, who therefore had the least access to close kinship networks, which may have contributed to a perception by themselves and others of being socially marginalised.

It has been shown that a second possible cause of social marginalisation was the place of birth. Those born in Madeley were the most likely to have lived with kin, whereas the further away other members of the community were born, the less likely they were to have been living with family members. Thus those who were likely to have had less opportunity to develop social networks, by having lived within the community for a smaller proportion of their lives, were more likely to have had weaker kinship links, and therefore to have been more socially marginalised on two counts.

Thirdly, those not living with kin - lodgers, servants, or those living alone, clearly did not have the same potential level of support from kin as did those living with family members, and this was the largest potentially marginalised group. The majority were women, paradoxical though this may seem, given the emphasis that has been placed upon women's role in maintaining kinship networks in the

literature. (74) In addition, women were less likely than men to have had the support of kin during the process of migration, moving alone to work in domestic service, or on marriage, although the great majority did live with the nuclear family, and were therefore not marginalised in this way.

A further portion of the community who were potentially marginalised were the absentees from kinship networks , and temporary disruptions. It has been shown that absentees are likely to have fallen into three main groups. Just as most domestic servants in Madeley were not born in the parish, so is it probable that many young women, whose families lived in the community, lived alone as domestic servants elsewhere. It has also been shown that many children, especially boys, moved out of the community away from their parents, to be brought up by other family members, but later returned. Similarly men left their wives and children, most likely to find work, to return at a later date. Thus kinship networks in the community were characterised to some extent by disruption, a proportion of which were temporary, and for relatively small, and sometimes overlapping, groups, the community may not have been perceived as having been close-knit.

Finally, this analysis of kinship in Madeley has allowed tentative conclusions to be reached concerning the *content* of kinship networks, and the ways in which these may have been perceived. Primarily this has been through identification of ways in which kin can be shown to have helped each other, which in Madeley was especially through relatives bringing up children of large families, by both men and women finding work for each other, by staying with kinship groups during and after migration, and by parents supporting daughters with illegitimate children. Adults who were either single, widowed or without a spouse also often lived with other adult kin in the same situation, providing economic and social support. Day to day help was also provided by grandmothers through child care, by adult women, shopping for parents, or helping sisters when children were sick, and much

help was provided by both boys and girls for their parents, fetching and carrying, and helping with younger brothers and sisters. Whilst it may be an exaggeration to describe the research community as having been a " model Communitarian society", it does seem that it had Communitarian characteristics, in that mutual aid, and in particular help for kin, was viewed as a responsibility, and that every individual could expect help as a right in a variety of forms from their family. (75) On this basis it could be argued that the research community was relatively close-knit, despite the evidence that helping kin does not seem to have been undertaken altruistically, with any view of reciprocation, but because such obligations were seen as part and parcel of living, indeed a necessity.

Furthermore, it is possible to make inferences with some confidence about the value placed upon the maintenance of kinship networks. For example, the extent to which it has been possible to show that relatives tried to live as close as possible to one another could be interpreted as a manifestation of a positive desire to do so, in a situation in which work may have been easier to find elsewhere, and autobiographical evidence has been presented to support this view. It has been shown that children brought up by other kin, and men who had lived outside the community in 1881, had returned to their families by 1891. Although some unmarried or widowed adults were economically self supporting and lived alone, most who were working, or living on their own means, chose to live with other kin. It seems likely that for most people in the community, a high value was placed upon the social and moral support that could be provided by coresident kin, and therefore in this sense the community could be said to have been perceived by most of its members as having been close-knit. However, overall, it has been shown that although the community may have been perceived as close-knit by the majority, this was not likely to have been the case for significant subgroups.

By comparison to the existing literature referring to the role of kin in late nineteenth-century mining and working class communities, it has been shown that in the research community in 1891, some roles have been overstated, and other understated. In the literature emphasis has been placed upon ' family pits ', and the extent to which fathers helped their sons to get work at the same place. Most sons, including miners' sons, did not have the same occupation as their fathers, let alone the same place of work, but there is evidence that women often found work for relatives at the chinaworks - a role not often recognised as one carried out by women. In the literature reference has been made to the extent to which adult children helped their elderly parents. However, in Madeley the evidence shows that older members of the community were generally independent, and that grandparents were often net contributors in terms of social care, especially helping to bring up grandchildren. In the literature emphasis has been placed upon the importance and strength of the mother - daughter relationship. In the research community it has been shown that widows were more likely to have lived with sons than with daughters, and that it was not more likely for newly married couples either to have lived with, or near, the husband's mother or parents. In the literature emphasis has been placed upon the centrality of women in kinship networks, and yet the most marginalised in the community were women. And in the literature there is little emphasis placed upon the help given by children to other members of the family. In the research community the help given by children is more frequently referred to in oral evidence, than that given by women.

Notes and References

1. See J. Ridgway, " Structures " and J. Ensum, " Highley ".
2. See Chapter Two. See also C.A.B. Giesen, Coal Miners' Wives, pp.15 and 17. Giesen notes the relative absence of first hand data upon the social aspects of miners' wives. Her work rests upon interviews of Appalachian miners' wives of different generations. She concludes that, " the immediate family was the central point in large and complex extended-family networks ", and notes for one interviewee that, " her relations with her family were her *main* source of enjoyment and comfort." Giesen's research suggests that in terms of social networks, kin were *the most* important component, above neighbours or workmates, and that the presence of kin was more significant as a constituent of individuals' networks, than as a vehicle for extending other parts of those networks. Whilst her work clearly applies to another continent, and another century, if mining communities do have distinctive characteristics as occupational communities, it seems possible, or even probable, that these findings could apply to other such communities.
3. M.I.A. Bulmer, for example, describes ' the traditional mining community ' as being characterised by, " social ties of work, leisure, family, neighbourhood and friendship " which " overlap to form close-knit and interlocking locally based collectivities of actors, " in Sociological Review, 1975, p. 88. P. Abrams, in M.1.A. Bulmer, Sociological Review, 1985, p.438 describes the ' traditional neighbourhood ' in similar terms, " the densely woven world of kin, neighbours, friends and co-workers, highly localised and strongly caring within the confines of quite tightly defined relationships, above all relationships of kin. "
4. " Closest social networks " here means those in which others are seen frequently.
5. Those for Lower Gornal, Cradley and Highley are calculated for the whole age range, whereas those for Madeley only refer to those aged 10 or over, which might be expected to have the result of depressing the proportion living with kin to some extent.
6. J. Ridgway, " Structures ", pp. 262, p. 291.
7. J. Ensum, Highley ", p. 36.
8. This proportion would have been higher still had the proportion been calculated for heads of household, rather than than for all individuals over the age of ten.
9. Of those living alone in Madeley, two thirds were over 60 years of age, and nearly a half were over 60 and not in full time paid employment. Only just over a third were born in Madeley, and less than a fifth had lived in the community ten years earlier.
10. The role of kin in providing lodging is considered in further detail below.
11. All but one (seven) were widowed, of whom four were also innkeepers or licenced victuallers. In addition, five of the total were neither born in Madeley or in neighbouring parishes. It appears that for those who had no relatives to turn to, or who wished to remain independent, innkeeping was a means of earning a living that was available and less difficult to enter, especially for women. It may have also been relatively easy to cope alone in this occupation. Those in dealing were more likely to have worked from

home, and to have had more opportunity to tend to domestic chores in spare moments.

12. Ways in which women contributed to kinship networks are discussed in further detail below, and to other social networks in chapter six. See also M. Young and P. Wilmott, Family, J. Bourke, Working-class, p. 153,and E. Ross, History, p.9 in relation to women in kinship networks within ' traditional ' urban working class communities at the turn of the century.
13. J. Ensum, "Highley ", p. 40 and J. Ridgway, " Structures ", pp. 265 and 291.
14. Ibid., pp. 38 and 39. See also G. Nair, Highley, p. 203 for an analysis of family structure in Highley during the second half of the nineteenth century, and M. Anderson, Family, p. 44 on the role of wider kin in the migration process in nineteenth-century Preston.
15. J. Bourke, Working-class, p.152 points out that kinship ties are, and were, not of equal intensity, and that those across the generations were " extended ", whilst those with wider kin were " latent ", waiting to be activated.
16. Ridgway's findings for Lower Gornal and Cradley show the reverse - that mining households were more likely to have included members of the extended family than other working class households, as shown on table 6.5. However, as Ridgway himself notes, the sample size is relatively small, so less confidence can be attached to these data. It is difficult to see an obvious explanation for this contrast.
17. I.J. Brown, Industrial, p. 15, for example, describes how houses owned by the Madeley Wood Company were passed from one generation to the next in the Lloyds, within the research community.
18. J. Bourke, Working-class.
19. E. Roberts, A Woman's, p. 170, for example, has concluded from oral evidence relating to between 1890 and 1940 that for the working class, " in the *vast majority* of cases kin were living within easy (and cheap) travelling distance ". E. Ross, History, p. 9, makes a similar point on the overlap between neighbourhood and kinship networks, " neighbourhood relationships in many London districts overlapped with kinship, though to an extent which is probably impossible to determine, " managing to establish that in one four storey building in 1885 13 % of adult females and 6 % of adult males had kin living in the same block.
20. M. Bulmer,Sociological, 1985, p. 438.
21. N. Dennis, F. Henriques and C. Slaughter, Coal.
22. D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, Coal, p. 25.
23. B. Williamson, Class, pp. 230 - 1.
24. The interviews were carried out on behalf of the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust, by historians, providing consistency of approach, whilst giving interviewees the opportunity to expand upon their own experiences. From the many transcripts available, those in which the date of birth was 1900 or earlier were chosen, and those relating to individuals who lived within the community area, within the parish, and immediately adjacent to it (in Coalport or Madeley Wood). Although memories mainly relate to the two decades following the research date, it is taken that the views and information given broadly apply also to 1891. It might be suggested also that some information may not be accurate, given the time interval between the period in question, and the dates of interview.Whilst this might have

been true of some details, it seems unlikely to have affected memories of which kin lived nearby, for example.

25. The marriage registers provide the full names, ages and place of residence of the married couple, as well as the full name and occupation of both fathers. these were recorded of the decade before the research date. By checking the names against the 1891 census it is possible to find which married couples still lived in the community in that year, and of these, which parents of each partner also lived in the community. The combination of full names, ages and occupation permits this to be done with a high degree of confidence, particularly where the named witnesses were also siblings. The only parents who could not be traced by this means were those who had remarried, or mothers, if her husband had died between the data of the marriage and the census. However neither of these circumstances were likely to have occurred in more than a few cases. If these data contain a bias, they may give a greater indication that kin were neighbours than was in fact the case, as those who married in Madeley were more likely to have parents living in the parish, than those who were married elsewhere.
26. Two thirds of interviewees were male, and two thirds lived within the research community, the remaining third living within the parish of Madeley, or in an adjacent parish on the coalfield. Half of the interviewees were born before 1900, and half between 1900 and 1910.
27. Heighway, T 13; Reynolds, R 34; Lloyd, T 34; Wale,T 43; Fidler.
28. Heighway, T 13; Reynolds, R 34.
29. Owen, T 47.
30. Wright, T 60.
31. 28 couples married in Madeley between 1881 and 1891 were living in the research community in 1891.
32. See, for example, E. Roberts, A Woman's, p. 18; J.Bourke, Working-class, p. 153; E. Ross, History, p.9. Evidence in other working class communities referred to by Bourke has indicated that it was more common for married couples to live near the wife's parents - the reverse of the findings of this research.
33. These have been termed ' critical life stages ' by M. Anderson, Family, in his influential work on kinship in mid nineteenth-century Preston, and ' vulnerable individuals or families ' by Ridgway, " Structures ", p. 379, in his pioneering work on kinship in two mining communities.
34. J. Benson, British, p. 141.
35. See J. Bourke, Working-class, p.153.
36. Ibid..
37. Reynolds, R 34.
38. Jenks, T 1.
39. Thorne, T 64.
40. Jenks, T 1.
41. R. Church, The History, p. 630.
42. Wellington Journal, 11.4.1891, p. 7.
43. Madeley Census, 1891, ED11, p. 40.
44. A.V. John, " Women Workers ", p. 341.

45. R. Taylor, Sociological Review, has examined the migration process, and the role of kin, focussing upon mining communities, though in the twentieth century.
46. J. Ensum, " Highley ", p. 49.
47. Individuals in the first two groups can be identified from the census according to whether the entire family unit were present in the research community in 1881, or whether individual family members were not present ten years earlier, whereas the remainder of the household was. The third group is taken to include lodgers, servants, and those living alone in 1891, who did not live in the community in 1881.
48. It is taken that migrants probably did not migrate with kin, if no kin appear consecutively on the census, and if surnames do not match. All those living as lodgers, servants or alone are taken as probably having migrated alone.
49. Reynolds, R 34.
50. M. Anderson, Family, pp. 152 - 160.
51. Lewis, T 5 and T 6.
52. The probable reasons for migration are deduced from the following data :
    (a) No children, or children under 10; spouse present in 1881.
    (b) Older parent without spouse, living with son or daughter.
    (c) Children under 20, migrant and living with non migrant parents & siblings.
    (d) Migrant living with non migrant nuclear family.
    (e) Married daughter living with parents and children, but no husband present.
53. R. Church, The History, p. 631.
54. Reynolds, R 34.
55. This group is shown under (d) and (e) on table 6.13. Since the wives in (e) are not described as widows, the reason for their husbands' absence given in the text seems the most probable.
56. A.V. John, " Women Workers ".
57. In the case of this community, and mining as an occupation, there were only two employers - James Forster at Aqueduct, and the Madeley Wood Company owning all other pits in the community. As Aqueduct was physically separate, it can be determined with some confidence whether coresident kin shared the same employer, and at Aqueduct that miners probably worked at the same pit. For the remainder of the community, miners certainly shared the same employer, so could have been in a position to have found work for their relatives, although it is still not possible to say whether individuals worked for the same chartermaster, who controlled employment in the pit. It is possible, however, to distinguish between those who mined clay, ironstone and clay in the employment details of the census, and those miners who almost definitely did *not* work together, and these are indicated separately on table 6.14.
58. N.J. Clarke, Shropshire, p.19.
59. I.J. Brown, Industrial, p.15.
60. Payne, T 42.
61. Fidler.
62. Lewis, T 5 and T 6; Lewis, T 12.

63. For example, Jenks, R 21, reported that it was usual for the disabled to have been employed as decorators at the chinaworks. The press report of the works' annual dinner also gives the impression of paternalistic employers - Communitarian, in that they took their responsibilities as employers seriously - Wellington Journal, 28/2/1891.
64. Pitchford, T 10.
65. Thorne, T 64.
66. J. Bourke, Working-class, p. 153.
67. Heighway T 13.
68. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p.184, for example, emphasise mutual help between women in mining communities, especially at times of ill health, confinement or death, and by sharing problems, but they do not distinguish between kin and neighbours. E. Ross, op. cit., p. 6, looking at central London at the turn of the century, referred to ' powerful links ' between men and their workmates, but only between *women* and kin and neighbours, and then in general terms of exchange of services or money.
69. Philpott, T 58.
70. Although H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 171, do note that boys and girls were recruited to use the poss stick on wash days, as soon as they were big enough. Outside mining communities, E. Roberts, Women Workers, p. 159, also relates some of the domestic tasks expected of children between 1890 and 1940 - particularly on washday, and looking after younger siblings.
71. Preece, T 12; Reynolds R 34; Lewis, T 12.
72. Lloyd, T 34, took lunch for his father, uncles and grandfather from Madeley Wood to Blists Hill. George recalled fetching beer and paraffin, and Reynolds, R 34, the fetching of water from the canal.
73. Lloyd, T 34, and George.
74. T. Nicholson, Labour, p. 83, for example, states, " the central role of women in the making and sustaining of families, households, kinship networks and communities can hardly be overemphasised " ; D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, Coal, p. 73, make a similar point, referring to M. Bulmer's work on mining communities, observing that, " women were at the centre of a web of kinship networks ".
75. D. Gilbert, Labour, p. 50.

CHAPTER 7 - SOCIAL NETWORKS

This chapter will focus upon the characteristics of the social networks within the research community. It is believed that it is innovative in its attempt to provide a clear and systematic approach towards the analysis of the social structure of a community defined by locality, based upon criteria that will allow the direct comparison of one community with another in a historical context. Communities have been described in terms of their population structure, and in terms of their institutions, but not in terms of the *social* structures constructed by their inhabitants, or using a social networks approach.

Types of network will be defined in the first instance according to the *purpose* of the social links. The first four groups will be those focused upon formal organisations or associations in the community - those described as at the core of the social life of late nineteenth-century mining communities such as Throckley. These organisations have been grouped into those based upon places of worship, non sporting associations, and those based upon sport. Networks based upon informal social contacts will be considered separately.

Within each of these groups, the composition, structure and content of social networks will be identified according to the framework outlined in chapter two. The networks will be analysed in detail by matching individuals named in the press and association manuscripts to the members of the research community included in the census data base. The **composition** of networks will describe their *size*, and their *membership*, so that it is possible, for example, to analyse the extent to which occupational groups spent their leisure time together, or the effect of persistence or place of birth upon willingness to join an association. The **structure** of networks will include consideration of the *frequency* with which links could have been renewed, and of the extent to which there was evidence of *overlap* of networks, within and between groups, providing further opportunities to broaden individuals' social links. The **content** of social networks will

analyse the evidence of the value that was placed upon networks, as they were perceived by participants.

Furthermore, to distinguish between different levels of social involvement, and the extent to which a community could be said to demonstrate different degrees of ' community spirit ', networks will be described as far as the data will allow at three levels - that of *spectators*, or those participating in a more casual way, at the level of *participation* - those who belong to a team, or are members of an association, and at the level of *organisation.*

Together these characteristics define the identities of individual communities, whose social networks can then be compared and analysed. Furthermore, the larger the networks, the more often they are renewed, the more they overlap, the more that their members participate, and the higher the value placed upon such social links, the more the community could be described as having been *close-knit,* whereas those in which the social networks were small, infrequently renewed, overlapped little, with relatively few participating or organising, and social links were not strongly valued, could be described as having been comparatively *loose-knit.*

I. Networks Based upon Formal Associations

1. Networks Based upon Places of Worship

Prior to the late nineteenth century Nonconformity was exceptionally strong in Madeley, and the community was something of, " a Mecca for Methodism ". Even so, the level of membership of the Wesleyan chapel fluctuated, and was much less than the level of attendance. During the mid nineteenth century, " the Church of England fought back with vigour " across the East Shropshire Coalfield, and more people attended the Church of England than any other place of worship. (1)

The Wesleyan chapel may therefore not have dominated the social life of the community as the literature relating to other late nineteenth-century mining communities describes, even when attendance was relatively high. There is little detailed evidence to date relating to the late nineteenth century on church or chapel based social activity, on the relative sizes of the different sects, or the extent to which these accentuated social divisions.

This section of the chapter will therefore examine the data relating to social networks based upon places of worship in the light of this literature, as well as in comparison to social networks based upon the other organisations in the community.

(i) Composition of Networks

(a) Network size

Spectators : The statistical evidence suggests that approximately four fifths of the research community did attend a place of worship - far more than came together regularly in any other context.(2) It does not therefore appear that in the research community, " the great mass were unchurched " at the end of the century, but that the size of social networks based upon places of worship at this level of involvement were relatively large. (3)

	Capacity*	Attendance*	Members*	Identified**	Participants**
Anglican - Madeley	1000	800	approx. 150 (i)	32	4
Aqueduct	(ii)200	200	no data		
Wesleyan – M'y	800/700iii)	600	88 - 120 (iv)	69	21
Prim. Meth. –M'y	250(iii)	220	53/52 (vi)	17	13
- Aqueduct	no data	60	6/7 (vi)		
New C'xion - Madeley		140 (iii)	200 (v) 18	9	3
Baptist - Madeley	250/130(iii)	100	30	1	
C'g't'l - Madeley	no data	100	no data	13	3
Catholic - Madeley	500/400(iii)	no data	no data	no data	no data
Total		2,280	200+	141	35

* J. Randall, History, pp.166 - 172 ** identified from 1891 census and primary data
(i) Victoria County History of Shropshire, Vol. XI, p.62
(ii) plus meeting places at Lower Madeley, Blists Hill, The Lloyds
(iii) Kelly's Directory, 1895
(iv) Estimate from J. Randall and SRO NM 2533/5, Schedule Books, Mar., June and Sept., 1891.
(v) hearers; 60 only said to have attended New Connexion services (vi) SRO 4444/2/1

Table 7.1 : Social Network Composition - Places of Worship
(Size of Networks)

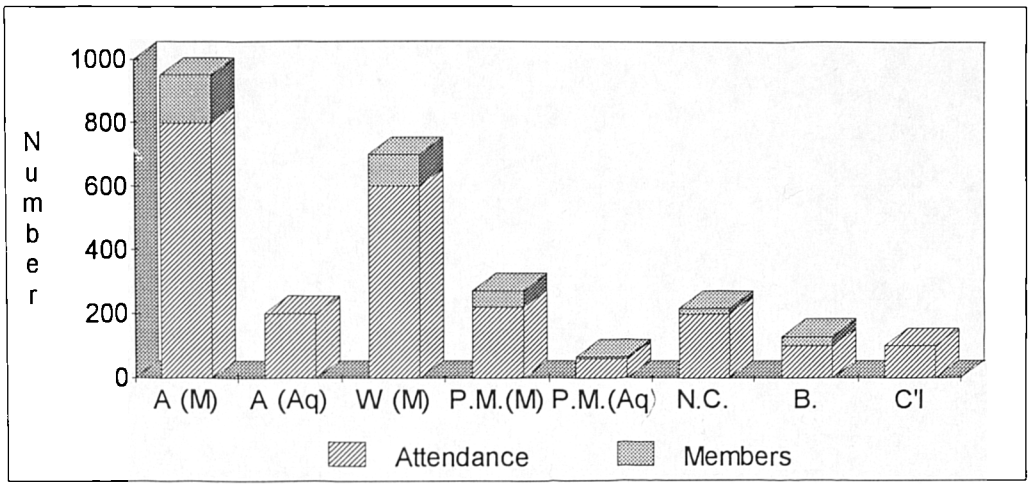


Chart 7.1 : Social Network Composition - Places of Worship (Size of Networks)

A : Anglican W: Wesleyan P.M. : Primitive Methodist
N.C. : New Connexion B : Baptist C'l : Congregational
(M) : Madeley Aq : Aqueduct

The autobiographical evidence is more difficult to interpret. Only a minority make any mention of church or chapel, suggesting that visiting places of worship was not, in fact, a central feature of these people's lives. Albert Owen recollects that his parents did not have time to attend church or chapel. (4) However, some do stress the numbers who attended. Moses Evans claims that " churchgoing in my early childhood days was very very strong " (referring to church and chapel). (5) Fred Fidler remembers the Wesleyan chapel having been " so full that you couldn't get in ". (6) Taking all the evidence, it appears that although not everyone did, the great majority of the community attended church or chapel, from the last quarter of the nineteenth century through the first decades of the twentieth.

The evidence also suggests that at least as high a proportion of children attended a Sunday School. Although Albert Owen's parents did not go to church, they made sure that he attended the Sunday School, and Moses Evans thought that, " Sunday School was a must for most ". (7) The data provide positive evidence of around a thousand children attending Sunday School. (8) And even if regular attendance was much less than the total numbers registered, (as indicated by the data available for the Wesleyan Sunday

School), the Sunday School provided the opportunity for the largest number of children to come together at any one place outside school time, and the Sunday School festival was undoubtedly the largest single social event for children in the year.

All places of worship, apart from the Primitive Methodist at Aqueduct, and the smaller Anglican meetings, probably attracted a larger regular gathering of people than did any of the next largest meetings at this level in the community - those of the friendly societies, as indicated below. Only at the less frequent fairs and fetes, or at the most competitive football or cricket matches, did more people come together at any one time, and the same applied to the children at Sunday School.

	Estimated numbers attending
Anglican - Madeley	440 (i)
- Aqueduct	90 (i)
Wesleyan - Madeley	267 (ii)/265 (i)/130 (iii)
Primitive Methodist - Madeley	136 (iv)/130 (i)
- Aqueduct	6 (iv)
New Connexion - Madeley	60 (iv)/70 (i)
Congregational - Madeley	80 (iv)/45 (i)
Catholic - Madeley	no data
Total	1036 - 1089

(i) Shrewsbury Chronicle, 13.2.1891 - numbers catered for at Colonel Anstice's wedding
(ii) SRO NM 2533/33 1891 - numbers on books.
(iii) SRO NM2533/33 1891 - weekly attendance figures
(iv) J. Randall, History, pp.166 - 172.

Table 7.2 : Social Network Composition - Places of Worship (Size of Children's Networks)

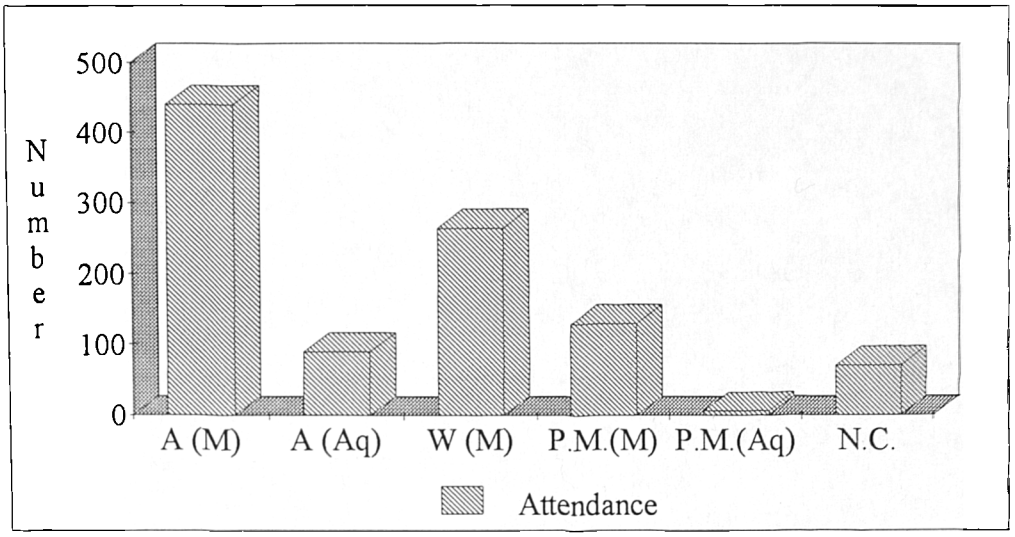


Chart 7.2 : Social Network Composition - Places of Worship (Size of Children's Networks)

Going to church or chapel was just a prelude for some to further socialising. Moses Evans described how all the public houses were crowded after the services. (9) Furthermore, Sunday School provided a platform for further social activity for the children, when it had finished. Indeed, this was often the only time that many had for play - boys and girls went in little gangs to watch the pig iron being tapped from the furnaces at Blists Hill, and that it was the only time that they were " away from school and that ". (10)

However whilst places of worship were major focuses for social interaction, contributing to the extent to which the community may have been close-knit, they were at the same time potential sources of social division within the community, since attendance was divided between twelve different places of worship. The extent to which this was the case will be examined further below.

Benson's conclusion that, " the great majority of the colliery population did not go to chapel " does nor appear to have entirely applied to the research community, where only a small majority did not attend chapel. This was due to the strong support for Anglican places of worship, rather than a lack of commitment to collective worship. (11) The

single largest venue on a Sunday within the community was the parish church, followed by the Wesleyan chapel, with substantial numbers meeting together at the other seven places of worship. At the smaller outlying area of the community, at Aqueduct, far more people attended the Anglican Chapel of Ease, than the Primitive Methodist chapel. It appears, then, that the Anglican vigour found across the coalfield mid century by Trinder, continued in the research community to the end of the century.

Events were also organised through churches and chapels that reached out to the wider community beyond their own memberships, in order to either raise funds, or attract new members, or both. All of the denominations organised a public tea, or tea meeting during the year, and in addition there were sales of work and fetes. Nearly all of these, for whichever church or chapel, were said to have been " well attended." Such events were inclusive, in that they were open to all, regardless of income. They therefore not only provided opportunities for those who organised them to strengthen their social links with each other, but also for people who usually attended different places of worship to meet together, broadening social networks within the community, and places of worship seem to have performed a particularly important social function in this respect. (12)

In addition, there were occasional events that were hosted for the wider region, such as the West Midlands meeting of the Primitive Methodists, which lasted six days, and included processions, teas, services in the square and at the camp ground, and public ' love feasts ', attracting thousands, many from neighbouring parishes, but also from much further afield. The event provided plentiful opportunities for making social contacts beyond the community. The fact that such a large attendance was attributed by the press to fine weather, suggests that many came as much for enjoyment and social reasons, as out of religious fervour. Such events contributed to the ' porosity ' of the boundaries of social networks of the community. (13) If a close-knit community was also a more inward-looking community, suspicious of ' outsiders ', and very conscious of ' us ' as opposed to ' them ', as it has been claimed that late nineteenth-century mining

communities often were, then the more such regional events that a community held, or that members of the community attended, the less close-knit the community could be said to have been. However, it is argued here that a close-knit community could both be characterised by strong social links, that overlapped in many contexts, and by welcoming those from other communities. It then follows that such events contributed to the extent to which the community was close-knit.

Participants : Members of the places of worship who had made a commitment beyond attendance at services were likely to have met each other more often (for example at the Adult Bible class), and to have better established social links with each other than those who only attended services. As Benson remarks, " it was not the special occasions, but the regular day to day functions which cemented the faithful together, and provided the miners and their wives with a new focus for their social and cultural lives. " (14) In the research community between a tenth and a third of those who attended each place of worship were also members (table 7.1).

These ratios are lower than the probable proportion of socially active members of friendly societies to the total number of members, for example, indicating that the latter may well have been more important socially than church or chapel, for those who could belong to them, in other words men. (15) But for the majority of the community - women and children - church or chapel provided the main opportunity for active social involvement in the community, even if they did not avail themselves of it.

Furthermore, the data indicate that around a quarter of the total adult population of the community participated either in church or chapel based activities, showing that even considering all places of worship in the community, it is unlikely that all together provided a *dominating* focus for the social lives of the majority of the population, as has been part of the stereotypical view in late nineteenth-century mining areas, even though a quarter should be considered a significant proportion of community members.

Still less is there statistical evidence of domination by the Wesleyan chapel as a social centre for participants or members. Table 7.1. shows that there were more members of the Anglican church than at any other single place of worship, even though there were more members of chapels in total.

The impression that the Wesleyan chapel was an important focus for social life has been given from the evidence that shows that more events and regularly meeting groups were organised at the chapel, than at other places of worship.

Fred Lloyd, referring to Madeley Wood Chapel at the turn of the twentieth century, claimed that, " the church was the focal point of anything ", and that something was happening every night of the week. (16) The latter does appear to have been the case also in Madeley a little earlier - there was a sewing class, an adult Bible class, a drum and fife band, a Science class, and an organ recital. However, the fact that there were more groups does not necessarily mean that more people attended them. None of the classes run at the Wesleyan chapel during 1891 had more than twelve registered, and fewer attending. (17) It therefore appears that comparatively few attended these midweek activities, and those who did were generally different for each class or activity. It is all too easy to assume that because a number of meetings were regularly held mid week, that the majority of those who, at some time, probably attended the church or chapel on Sundays, *also* attended mid week meetings.

The only other place of worship in the research community for which there is evidence of meetings other than services or fund raising events is the parish church. In the face of such activity by the Wesleyans, it might have been thought that the Anglicans were an inward looking and inactive group, but press reports show otherwise. They ran very successful Bible classes, with seventy to eighty attending at the turn of the century, had a ' Ladies' Working Party ' - perhaps the equivalent of the sewing class, since they

produced material for sale, and had newly and successfully formed Young Women's and Young Men's Christian Associations. (18) They were clearly hoping to develop and grow through attracting young people to associations that were partly social in their function. It would therefore be misleading to suggest that the Wesleyan chapel was the only, or even the most important, focus for social life based upon a place of worship.

One might not expect evidence of greater involvement by children at Sunday School, but the meticulous record keeping of the Wesleyans does provide some insight. Almost as many as attended regularly were committed enough to use the library, or even to buy books. (19) However like the adults, when it came to attending more classes there was little enthusiasm. Less than ten percent of those even regularly attending the Sunday School either attended junior society classes, or were members. As the autobiographical evidence shows, the few free hours outside class on a Sunday afternoon were much valued - it seems that opportunities to strengthen and enjoy social links outside formal associations were preferred by the children.

	1888	1891
Scholars on books	234	267
Average attendance - morning	58	76
- afternoon	104	130
Members of the society	3	9
Attendance - junior society classes	19	14
Number of readers - library		101

Table 7.3 : Attendance and Commitment at the Wesleyan Sunday School, Madeley (20)

Organisers (21) : There was a higher number, and proportion, of Wesleyans committed to the chapel at this level than there were of Anglicans. (22) Therefore although more may have attended classes at the church, commitment at the chapel was wider and deeper, and potentially more significant in terms of social network development. However, these core groups were not large in absolute terms, and they appear to have been smaller than the group organising the main football club for example, and smaller in total than those organising all friendly societies. On this dimension of the model, places of worship

increased the extent to which the community could be described as close-knit, but were not the most important associations in this respect.

(b) Network Membership

Participants : Where the influence of the Wesleyan chapel was overwhelming, as in the stereotypical mining community, there can have been little differentiation or social division arising from membership of places of worship, since nearly everyone met socially at the one place. However, where there were a number of denominations represented, as in the research community, there was potential for social division between denominations that could have been related to occupational group. Moses Evans, in the neighbouring parish of Oakengates, observed that there was indeed at the beginning of the twentieth century, and that the places of worship were " poles apart as far as mixing together in society " was concerned. Landlords were Wesleyan, workers at the Co-op and works officials were Primitive Methodists, and shopkeepers went to the United Methodists. (23)

	Angl.	Wesl.	Prim. Meth.	New Cxn	Bapt.	Congr.
Mining	0	13	6	1	0	1
Manuf.	4	9	7	0	1	3
Dealers	2	6	3	0	0	1
Agriculture	0	1	1	0	0	0
Transport	0	1	1	0	0	0
Dom. Service	1	1	1	0	0	0
Ind. Service	0	1	0	0	0	0
Building	0	0	0	0	0	1
Professional	8	3	2	0	0	2
Not paid	15	34	3	2 .	0	5

Table 7.4 : Social Network Composition - Places of Worship (Occupation of Participants)

In the research community, there does also seem to have been some division by occupation, although it was not absolute. (24) For those with a stated occupation, the largest groups at the parish church were schoolteachers and the more prosperous

businessmen, with two foremen at the chinaworks, but no miners, ironworkers or labourers. The largest occupational groups at the Wesleyan chapel were miners, over half of whom were chartermasters or owners. (25) Dealers and craftsmen were also more closely associated with the Wesleyans, with a few young men working at the chinaworks, and a foreman over the skilled artists at the chinaworks. (26) Again, no ironworkers or labourers were identified. The Primitive Methodists in the research community were predominantly labourers - stone or coal miners, a brickyard labourer, domestic servant, an ironworker and an engine minder, although there was one chartermaster, a farmer and a dealer. (27) Some occupational groups were hardly involved in any religious denomination - particularly servants, ironworkers or labourers. They may have been socially excluded by poverty, being unable

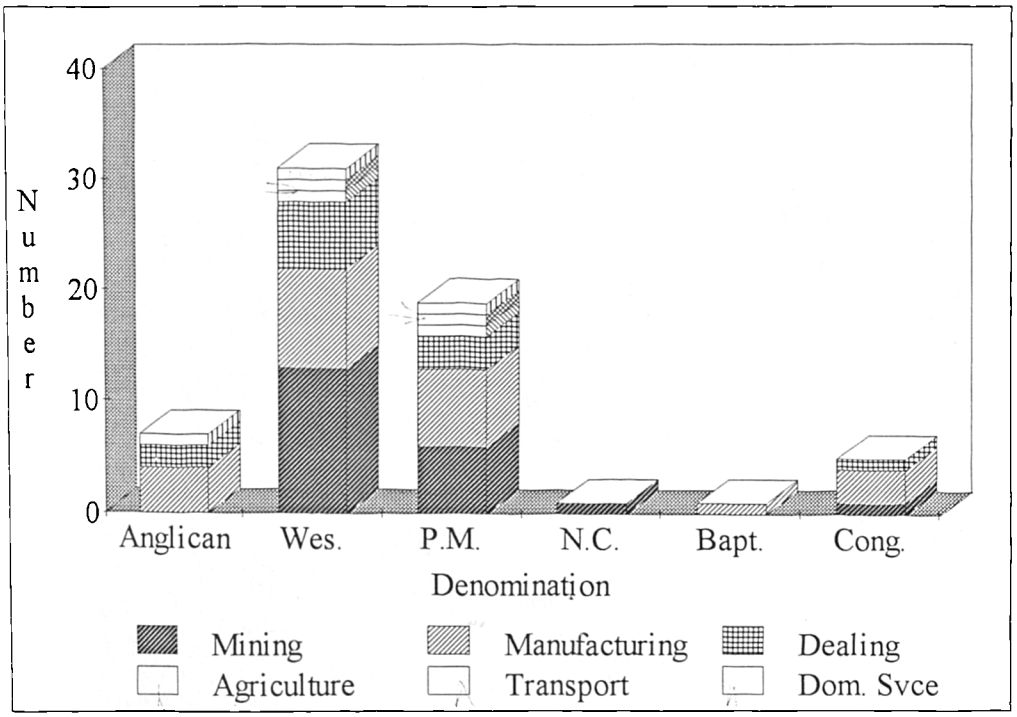


Chart 7.3 : Social Network Composition - Places of Worship (Occupation of Participants)

to pay the regular contributions expected of members, and if not directly, indirectly, as a result of the long hours that they had to work to make a living, or feeling excluded by the

lack of ' Sunday best clothes '.(28) The distinction between those who could, and those who could not attend a place of worship was, perhaps, a greater social division than that between places of worship.

Places of worship did therefore appear to have contributed to possible social divisions according to occupation. However there was a good deal of ' porosity ' between denominations. Individuals from all the largest occupational groups attended at least four of the six denominations for which there are data (table 7.4). Miners were actively involved in all places of worship apart from the parish church and Baptist chapel. Attendance at places of worship did not contribute to the ' enclave effect ', or social separation, that has been attributed to stereotypical mining communities, by which miners chose to spend all their leisure time together. The evidence indicates that places of worship contributed to the extent that the community was close-knit by providing a focus for the building of social networks, without developing strong divisions by occupational groups. On the other hand they potentially contributed to social division by denomination, and accentuated the social exclusion of the poorest.

For all denominations the largest group of participants was those without any stated occupation in the census, who comprised the children at Sunday School and women, not in regular paid employment. (29) The more complete Wesleyan data suggest that men were a minority of participants at places of worship, and women and children the majority, emphasising again the potential social significance of these associations for the latter, given the lack of such opportunities elsewhere. The contexts in which women and children were identified illustrate nevertheless the social divisions between men, women and children that developed through places of worship. Women and children were named as active participants in musical performances, sewing groups, Bible classes and Sunday School events, and running bazaars and sales of work, whereas men were more often named as organisers or teachers.

Organisers : Almost the only identified organisers of the Anglican church were those professionally involved, which may demonstrate organisational precedent rather than a lack of commitment by members of the congregation. However it can be demonstrated that a much larger number helped to organise the Nonconformist groups voluntarily. Miners were very prominent amongst the organisers of both the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist chapels. (30) It is clear that miners were more willing and able to commit their time and effort for the benefit of fellow community members than were other occupational groups. Also prominent amongst the organisers of the Wesleyan chapel in particular were dealers (who perhaps already had some of the skills needed to serve on committees), but unrepresented again were the poorest, the labourers, and also brick and tile workers. (31)

The mix of occupational groups of organisers at the chapels gives the impression that taking social responsibility seriously was inclusive, in that it was open to anyone, but the absence of labourers, and brick and tile workers, the under representation of ironworkers and domestic servants, and the prominence of miners suggest that the former groups were least able to, and the latter were relatively willing to, act in this Communitarian fashion.

	Wesleyan	Primitive Methodist
Mining	6	6
Manufacturing	2	2
Dealing	5	2
Agriculture	0	1
Domestic Service	0	1
Not Paid	3	1

Table 7.5 : Occupations of Organisers at Chapel (apart from professionals)

A fifth of organisers amongst the Wesleyans were women, and there was just one woman helping to organise at the Primitive Methodist chapel. Although it is true to say that

women were underrepresented as leaders, as pointed out by Moore, in the sense that they comprised under a half of leaders, there is very little evidence that women helped to organise any other associations in the community. (32) It therefore was the case that the Wesleyan chapel at least was socially very important for women, not only in providing venues for meeting, but also in giving the opportunity to serve the wider community.

(ii) Structure of Networks

(a) Frequency

Church and chapel services provided ongoing opportunities to strengthen social networks throughout the year, once or twice weekly. The significance in terms of social networks was even greater for those who were able to socialise after services, such as the men who were said to have crowded the public houses on Sundays, and also the children, who spent a few hours together after Sunday School. (33) It would appear that Methodism was less socially divisive in the research community than has been reported in other mining communities, where men chose to associate themselves either with the chapel or the public house, and that the probability of meeting the same group of people at least weekly during or after services for a significant proportion of the community meant that places of worship did indeed provide a major opportunity for developing social networks in the community. For the small proportion who attended mid week meetings, additional social opportunities arose, focussed upon the church or chapel, as they did quarterly for those who organised the Methodist chapels. (34)

The least frequent occasions when people came together at places of worship were those that were more directly social in purpose. All denominations, apart from the Primitive Methodists held at least one event during the year designed to be socially attractive enough to raise money for various causes, and were largely arranged by women. The times when the men came together tended more business - orientated meetings. (35) Furthermore the former reached out to the whole community.

Annual outings and treats were purely social events, so despite their infrequency, were important in terms of social networks. The former cemented social links within groups at individual places of worship, such as the choirs and Bible class, whereas the Sunday Schools' treat brought together children from all the places of worship, developing social

links between the places of worship in the community. (36)

(b) Overlap

Associations : Due to limitations of the data, it is only possible to examine the overlap of the social networks of those actively participating in church or chapel events, committees or classes, with active participants in other associations in the community.

Less than 10 % of those active in any denomination were active in any sporting or non sporting association. The limited overlap with team sports was smaller than for any of the other groups of associations. For some, this may have been related to the links of some sports with public houses, but probably more important were the time demands of church or chapel based activities, and particularly for women, competing domestic demands. In addition, a high proportion of those identified as active in church or chapel were children attending Sunday School, who were too young to play for the sports teams.

However there is evidence to show that social networks based upon the different churches and chapels did overlap significantly, and that there was a high degree of willingness to co-operate together. Those with particular skills, both men and women, often helped out at different places of worship, apparently without preference for denomination. For example, John Benbow, the auctioneer, and a committed Wesleyan, auctioned the produce collected for both the Congregational and Primitive Methodist harvest thanksgiving services, and also performed at a concert for the Church day school. Miss Johnson, the Sunday School teacher at the parish church sang at an entertainment for the Congregationalists. And there were many other such examples. (37)

The ministers, too, helped each other. The Congregationalist Reverend Musk addressed a missionary service of the Primitive Methodists, and the Wesleyan Reverend Cartwright

played the organ at a marriage at the parish church. (38) Fred Lloyd claimed that, " the Primitive Methodists, and we Wesleyan Methodists were always very very friendly ..... and we used to help each other out quite a lot ". (39) In fact it seems that people from all denominations helped each other out, with the possible exception of the Anglicans, who appear to have remained more aloof. Nevertheless, they too came together with the other religious groups for two major events in the community during 1891.

The first of these was the Primitive Methodist West Midlands District meeting, which lasted over several days, with thousands present. Madeley Wesleyan, Congregational, Baptist, Methodist New Connexion and Primitive Methodist preachers spoke from the pulpit at the Primitive Methodist Chapel. But at a meal for hundreds at the Anstice Memorial Institute, the curate of the parish church, responded to the vote of thanks, in which he noted that never in thirty years had the Primitive Methodists, " been so efficiently and so *unanimously* assisted by the communities," as they had been at Madeley. (40)

		Wesleyan	Anglican	Congregational
Associations				
Sport	Football	5	2	0
	Cricket	0	0	0
	Athletics	1	4	0
	Quoits	2	0	0
	Individual	0	0	2
Non Sport	Friendly Soc.	1	2	0
	Choral	2	0	0
	Class	3	0	0
	Social	0	21	4
Kin				
	Family	3	2	0
	Couple	0	1	2
	1 parent and child	8	5	0
	Siblings	4	0	0
	Individuals with kin	40	15	4
Total identified		69	32	13

Table 7.6 : Social Network Structure - Places of Worship (Overlap)

The second major event was the Sunday School treat, which had been agreed a few years previously, " should be done all together ". All the denominations marched through the town. The games in the afternoon were held in two separate fields - one for the church schools, and the other for most of the chapel schools. This may have symbolised the social separation of the two groups, but it appears more probable that the split was for purely pragmatic reasons, due to the very large numbers of children. (41)

Thus it seems that there was no reluctance to come together socially in the course of the more frequent church or chapel based occasions, and when the opportunity arose to help each other, it was readily taken. In the sense that boundaries between religious groups within the community were not tightly drawn, or associated with a strong consciousness of ' us ' and ' them ', and there was a good deal of ' porosity ', the community could be described as having been close-knit.

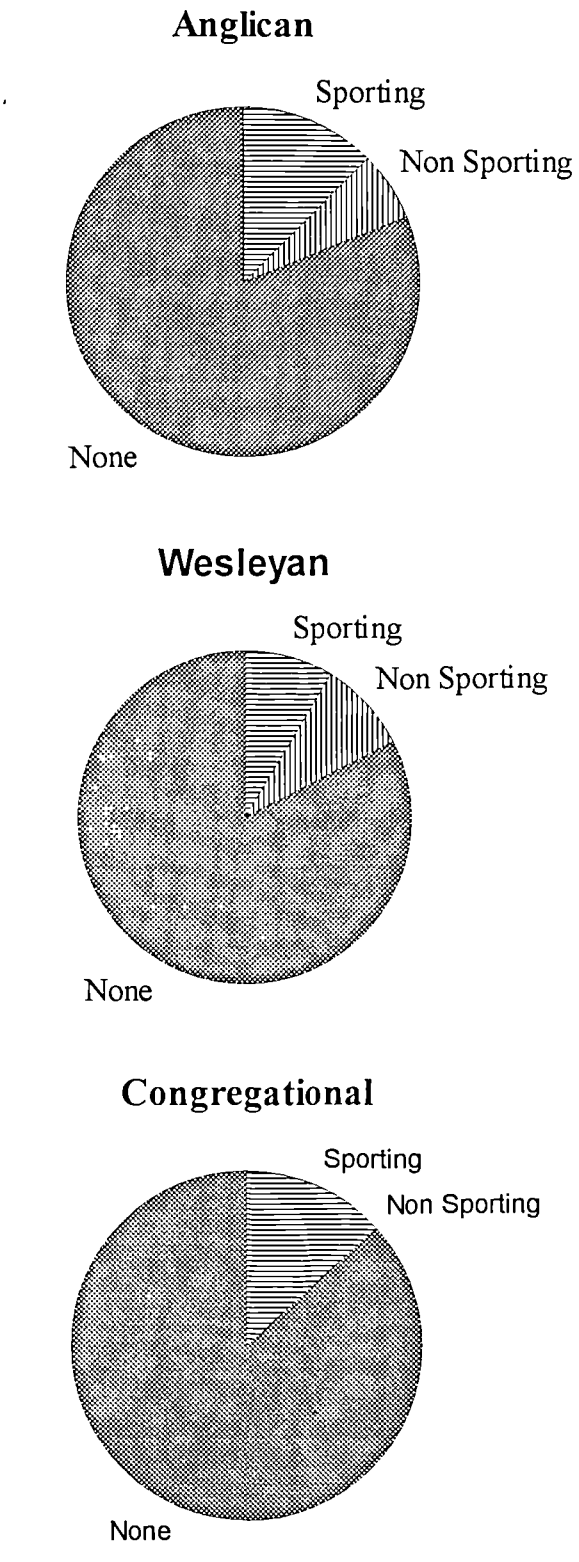


Chart 7.4 : Social Network Structure - Places of Worship (Overlap of Participants by Association)

Neighbourhood : Since the more strongly supported denominations - Anglican, Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist - had constructed chapels or organised meeting places in the smaller neighbourhoods within or just outside the research community, it is clear that there was a strong overlap between social networks based upon the neighbourhood, and those based upon places of worship. Only some of the Baptists, Congregationalists and Catholics had to travel out of their neighbourhood to attend a place of worship. The data matching individuals in the community reflect this pattern. Where chapels existed in Aqueduct, the numbers identified in that neighbourhood as attending the place of worship in central Madeley are low, for example. Likewise the numbers of Wesleyans identified as attending the central chapel are relatively low in neighbourhoods adjacent to others outside the community which contain another chapel. Thus social links made in the neighbourhood were often reinforced at places of worship, although at the same time members of the neighbourhood were divided in their support for the different denominations.

Kinship : It has been too easily assumed that whole families attended places of worship together, particularly in mining communities. Moore states that the typical Methodist in a mining community went to chapel *with* his family, whilst Moran refers to miners *and their families* at chapel. (42) In the research community only the families of the two Anglican ministers, and the Wesleyan trustee and auctioneer, could all be traced as participants in church or chapel activities. This evidence therefore suggests that it was very unusual for whole families to have been actively involved at places of worship.

Furthermore, of twenty two family groupings traced, in only five were both marriage partners identified as participating in church or chapel activities. It appears that in the community a minority of those involved as participants at church or chapel attended meetings with marriage partners. Foley recounts that it was only her mother who went to chapel in the early twentieth century Forest of Dean, and Benson, too, noted that mining families did not necessarily attend chapel together. (43) Sunday School, and Sunday

School social events did not generally involve parents. (44) Women joined sewing groups, and helped to run fund raising events (sometimes with children) and to provide refreshment at entertainments. Preachers, trustees, and those identified on committees were all men. Thus even when all members of a family may have attended the same church or chapel, it would have been but rarely that they came together for social occasions based at the place of worship. Social networks developed at places of worship may therefore have appeared to overlap with kinship networks, but on closer examination it seems that in fact they did not often do so in a meaningful way for kin living in the same household.

Nevertheless, the evidence does show that two thirds of identified Wesleyans, and a half of Anglicans were involved at the same place of worship as at least one other family member. In fact nearly half of the kinship groupings in the research community included one parent and child - most often the father, even though the other parent was included in the household. (45) Thus the evidence indicates that although women were more likely to have been socially active in church or chapel than in any other organisation, they were still less likely than men to have been so, and also less likely to have been so with any of their children.

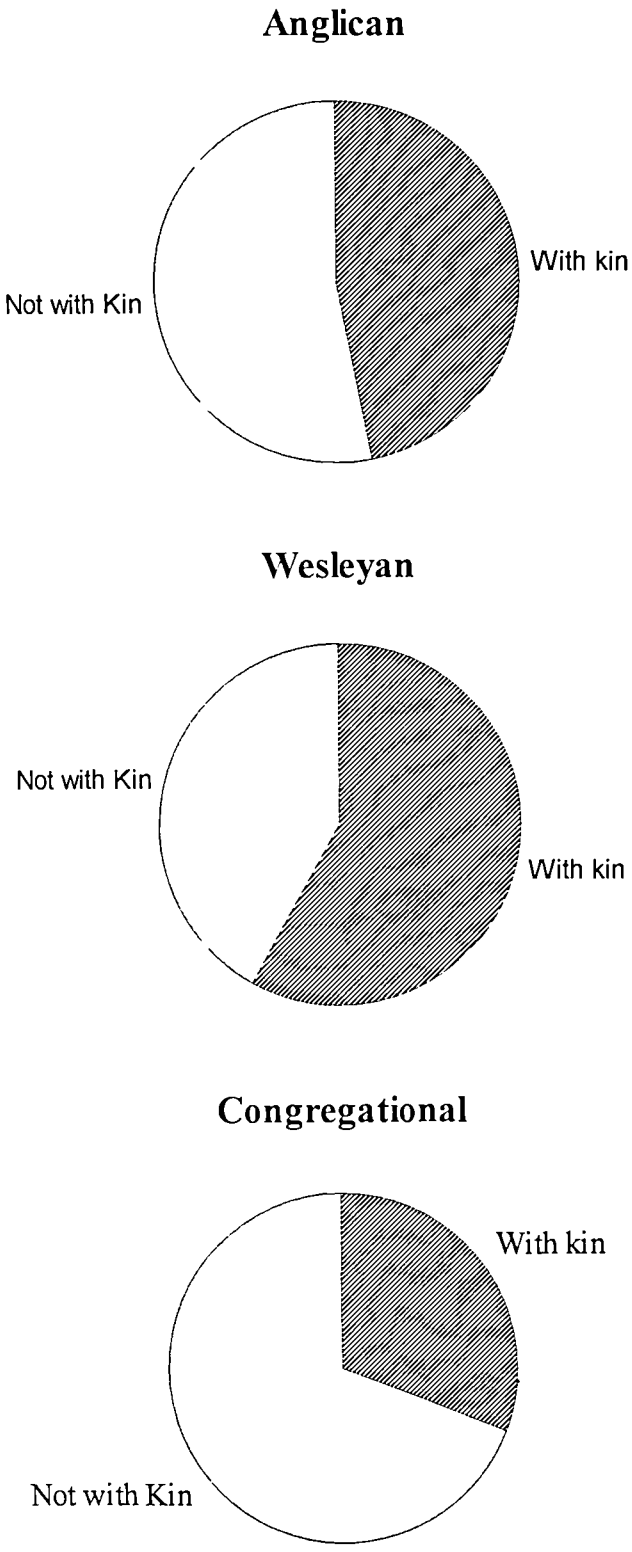


Chart 7.5 : Social Network Structure - Places of Worship
(Overlap of Participants with Kinship Networks)

Four of the twenty two kinship groupings - all Wesleyan - were of siblings alone, indicating that it probably was the case, as it was for Albert Owen, that a significant proportion of parents felt that they were too busy to attend, or become involved in, church or chapel, but made sure that their children attended Sunday School. (46)

(iii) Content of Networks

Interpretation of the content of social networks is difficult in a historical context, and is complicated by the variety of motives that people may have had for attendance at places of worship. These may have included a desire to get away from the never ending work or noise at home, to go somewhere warmer on cold winter days, or to have impressed employers, for example. (47) If the latter was the prime motive for attending a place of worship in Madeley, then by far the largest numbers would have attended the parish church, followed by the Wesleyan chapel, attended by most chartermasters, which in fact was the case.

For nearly all of the services reported in the press at all churches and chapels, the attendances were described as 'large' or 'good', suggesting that for some, at least, the experience was perceived positively. Attitudes towards attending on Sundays were not always so, though. At the big chapel at Wrockwardine Wood Moses Evans reports that the " enthusiasm of the day often ended in fisticuffs ", and that the occasions were often so emotional that individuals " rampaged " and ended in tears. When men got up to pray they thought of everything that was wrong with their lives - themselves, their neighbours, the pit - and yet despite this, they attended week after week. Even though two brothers attended the chapel regularly, it was reported that they never talked to each other. If not downright hostile to each other, some attending were made weary by others " going on too long. " (48) These kinds of experiences may have been more common at Primitive Methodist chapels, where those attending were commonly known as " the ranters", but it would appear that on balance the social experience at these chapels was more negative

than positive - a perspective not generally associated with the social life of chapels.

Similarly, the feelings of children towards the weekly Sunday School attendance were mixed. There was certainly an element of compulsion. Moses Evans reported that attendance was a ' must ' for most. (49) Fred Lloyd also reported that as the headteachers of the day schools and the Sunday Schools were one and the same, children and their parents felt that they had to go. (50) And attendance was not always an unmitigated pleasure. Moses Evans was bullied so much that he was allowed to stay away and play. Nevertheless, the children did look forward to the time that they had together when Sunday School had finished. Mr. Lloyd described this time as their " Sunday afternoon treat ", and said that they " used to thoroughly enjoy it ".

Beyond the weekly (or more frequent) services and Sunday School sessions were those events at which attendance was more clearly linked to social pleasure. For adults, all the public tea meetings were well attended, as were fund raising entertainments in which children performed. (51) All of these events made a positive contribution to the social life of the community by providing opportunities to extend and strengthen social networks, especially rare for women.

In addition to these events within the community, the members of the parish church and Wesleyan chapel choirs enjoyed each others' company sufficiently to choose to organise day outings together. Both groups made the most of their days, starting early and coming back late, as did the Wesleyan Sunday School superindendant and teachers, and the church Bible class on their outings. (52) The success of such activities may have depended to a large extent upon the personalities of those leading the groups. The headteacher of the Wesleyan Day and Sunday Schools was Hercules Thomas, described as " the popular schoolmaster ", and when the teacher of the Anglican Bible class left the parish to get married, it was said that there was " universal regret ", and that she was regarded " with affection and esteem. " (53) In the context of the reports it appears that

there was no expectation from the reader that Mr Thomas should be described as " popular ", or the regret on the loss of the Bible class teacher as " universal " - the choice of words does seem to reflect genuine perceptions of the individuals by those who knew them.

The Sunday Schools' treat may well have been the social highlight of the year for the children - it was the only occasion arranged for them all together, entirely for pleasure. Since it was estimated that between 1,200 and 2,000 children took part, and the games continued until 9.00 at night, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the event was very much anticipated and enjoyed. (54)

The evidence suggests that the aspects of social life associated with places of worship that were most highly valued, not surprisingly, were those whose purpose was primarily social - gatherings after services, or annual outings or treats. The social opportunities that these times presented seem to have been grasped readily, given the high proportion of community members participating. This was especially true for women and children, for whom there were but few such occasions to strengthen social networks.

2. Networks Based upon Non Sporting Associations

Despite its title, there is no evidence that the Anstice Memorial Institute and Workmen's Club, in the centre of the community, and Madeley, did in fact function as a social centre for workmen, as did the Workmen's Clubs as described in the Yorkshire and Durham Coalfields. Attention will therefore be given here to the ways in which musical associations, friendly societies and adult education classes contributed to the pattern and nature of social networks within the community.

Within the community, there was a Choral Society and the Wesleyan Rock Band, and within the parish, the Ironbridge Rifle Volunteers Band. More numerous were the eleven different friendly societies in the parish, six of which were based within the research community, with the remainder based at the mining companies, the Anstice Memorial Institute or public houses. (55)

Evidence of social interaction focused on adult education classes is limited. However, there were at least three adult education classes running in the research community in 1891 at the Anstice Memorial Institute, over and above the classes and groups attached to places of worship referred to above. Two were Art classes, one for boys, half funded by the Chinaworks, and the other for ladies. The remaining class was a First Aid Class, run by St. John's Ambulance. (56)

(i) Composition of Networks

(a) Network Size

Spectators : At this level of involvement, it is possible to comment upon the audiences for the band and choral society concerts, the members of friendly societies (who may, or may not have regularly attended meetings), and participants in events organised by the friendly societies for the wider public.

The Rifle Volunteer Band were often present at fairs and fetes, and occasionally played open air concerts. (57) Since such large numbers were reported at these events (as discussed below), it would follow that the size of the spectator network was likely to have been very large in total, and comprised all sections of the community. (58) The Band therefore potentially provided an important focus for drawing all sections of the community together, and an important opportunity for the development of social networks. By contrast descriptions of the audiences of the choral society concerts varied from ' sparse ', to ' large '. (59) At best, then, interest was variable, and choral society concerts are likely to have had only a limited effect upon the social lives of a relatively small portion of the community.

Only at a place of worship, or a football match, could more people have met together regularly than those who subscribed to one or more friendly societies, and of the non sporting associations, the friendly societies were by far the largest. Here consideration will be given to total membership, and the evidence relating to regular attendance, and closer social involvement, will be dealt with later.

Contemporary estimates suggest that there were approximately 1,500 members of friendly societies in the community, of a total population over the age of ten of 2,900. (61) Since the evidence indicates that the membership was almost entirely male and in

work, and excluded the poorest, it seems probable that less than half of the community could have been members. (62) It becomes clear that the great majority of people who were both eligible to, and could afford to, join friendly societies probably

Friendly Society	Number of Members	Meeting Place
Ancient Order of Foresters	265/271	Anstice Memorial Institute
Oddfellows	159	Royal Oak
Coalbrookdale & Madeley Temperance	123	Anstice Memorial Institute
Modern Masons	75	Barley Mow
Shropshire Provident	74	Anstice Memorial Institute
Madeley Court Works	350	
Madeley Wood Company	(none given)	

Table 7.7 : Membership of Friendly Societies within the Research Community (60)

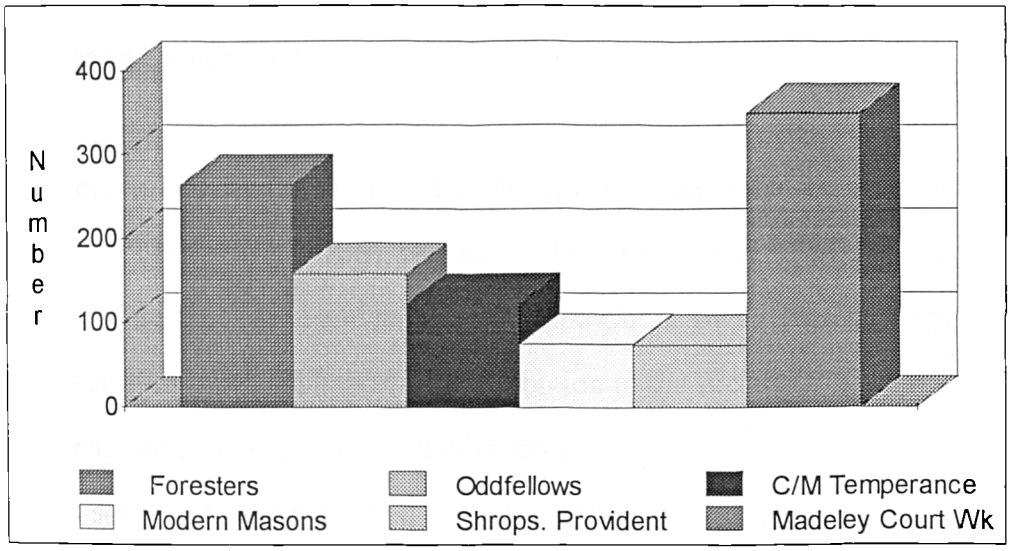


Chart 7.6 : Social Network Composition - Friendly Societies (Size of Networks)

did so, and that many joined more than one, consistent with Benson's assertion that throughout the nineteenth century most people in every coalfield community belonged to at least one friendly society. (63)

Whilst the members referred to above may have used friendly societies only as a means

of saving, and not necessarily as social organisations, there were other ways in which friendly societies certainly did contribute to social life in the community. They were more inclusive than the societies themselves, in the sense that non members, wives and children were welcome. Indeed, Gosden concludes that such social events were viewed as prerequisites for maintaining membership. (64) For example, nearly four hundred people from Madeley joined a Shropshire Provident day trip to Liverpool in August. (65) Since this number is over four times the total membership of that society ten years previously, it appears that even if the membership had grown rapidly over this period, there was a high level of membership participation in such events, in addition to non members. This event alone provided a social occasion for over 10 % of the research community. Almost at the end of the century, the celebration of the Ancient Order of Foresters on acquiring twentyone honorary members was described as having, " created quite a stir in the town of Madeley; everywhere was to be seen choice decorations. It was arranged to have a public tea and concert in the large concert-room. " (66)

Similar events occurred in the area. People were reported as having walked five or six miles to Wellington, where there was said to have been " a very large attendance of visitors " to the fair, dance and games, when the Oddfellows celebrated their anniversary. Clearly the event made an important contribution to the social life of the wider community. (67) The social function of friendly societies seems to have been strong in terms of social events that reached out beyond their members, casting doubt upon the claim that it had diminished towards the end of the nineteenth century. (68)

Participants : None of the members of the bands can be identified, but the choral society included six members from the research community. The size of the network appears to have been equivalent to that of the quoits club, and a little larger than the number of cyclists - very small in terms of the whole community.

Turning to adult education, the only class for which there were details of the individuals

attending was the First Aid class, in which eleven members of the community could be positively identified. If it is assumed that the remaining three classes contained the same number of students, then the total living in the community and attending classes would have been over forty - more than played any of the sports, apart from football.

It has been shown that a very high proportion of men subscribed to one or more friendly societies, but this did not necessarily mean that all, or even many, attended the meetings, or that friendly societies had any impact upon individuals' social networks. Reference has been made above to the fact that it has been assumed that the social function of friendly societies, declined towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Without detailed records it is difficult to be precise, although some reports do give sufficient information for it to be possible to make inferences with some confidence. For example, a hundred members of the Ancient Order of Foresters had dinner together at the Royal Oak, and as was usual at such occasions in the community, there were toasts, speeches and songs performed by those who were willing. (69) Since the report specifically refers to members, it appears that this was a men only event, taken advantage of by about two fifths of the total membership of the friendly society in the community. This may well have been a continuation of the tradition of annual feasts, which was a requirement in the rules of most local societies, and earlier in the century had been paid for with members' contributions. (70)

Since the feast had not already been paid for, and was voluntary, it could be inferred that those attending, about two fifths of the total membership, felt positively enough towards the society, and more importantly towards their fellow members, to wish to have taken part in such an occasion, whose only purpose seems to have been a social one. Furthermore, it seems reasonable to infer that the participants probably already knew each other well enough to wish to have a meal together, probably through seeing each other with some regularity at society meetings. If extrapolated to all friendly societies in

the research community it would mean that around four hundred men in the community probably often attended the friendly society meetings. (71)

It has been shown above the emphasis that was traditionally placed upon the *social* function of friendly society meetings, and the importance that was attached to this aspect of the meetings in maintaining membership. In addition, the purpose of the special ceremonies and regalia was to develop social loyalty amongst the members. The fact that the social element of friendly society meetings was still important and valued in the research community in 1891, and the data indicate that the numbers who attended were relatively large, suggests that friendly societies were much more socially important in the research community, and perhaps in other mining communities, than has hitherto been recognised.

Organisers : Only two individuals were identified as organisers of the choral society, and none of the adult education classes. Since the membership of both was relatively small, it is likely that the numbers organising the associations were proportionately small also.

However more could be identified as organisers of the friendly societies. Eight individuals from the Oddfellows, and four from the Foresters held positions of responsibility in the local lodge or district. If five or six individuals were involved in organising each of the friendly societies in the research community, then the numbers strongly committed in this way would have been of the same order as the number of those who organised football, or church and chapel - groups that were of much greater social significance than has hitherto been recognised in late nineteenth-century mining communities.

Also indicative of the size of the group of strongly committed members were the numbers attending funerals, of which there were four reported over the year, each of long standing members of the Foresters or Oddfellows, some of whom had held office.

For each, at least twenty members joined the funeral procession. (72) It was clearly not the case in Madeley in 1891 that it was a rule that all members living within five miles should attend funerals, or if so, it was not enforced. (73) Nevertheless, there may have been an expectation, or tradition, that members would do so, and there appears to have been a core of twenty to twenty five members in each friendly society who were strongly enough committed to attend, and to have bought the necessary regalia. This evidence further indicates that there was a strongly committed core of members of friendly societies in the community, who felt a strong sense of loyalty to one another.

(b) Network membership

Spectators : There is a clear contrast of the membership of non sporting associations by occupation. The choral society concerts attracted ' fashionable ' audiences, suggesting their relative prosperity, if not their precise occupation. (74)

By contrast, it has been shown that membership of friendly societies was high in Madeley in 1891, indicating that there was little exclusion by occupational group, and that Benson's assertion that, " all but the poorest " in mining communities belonged to a friendly society seems to apply to the research community. (75) It appears likely that many miners in particular belonged to more than one society. Even though friendly societies were run at the places of work, the records of claims to the Ancient Order of Foresters show only mining members for that time period. (76) This reflects both the debilitating long term effects of mining as an occupation, the readiness of miners to save when they could, and perhaps the social attraction of meetings.

No data are available to tell us the age of the audiences at concerts, but more can be found on the membership of the friendly societies. Despite laments about the lack of young people, the average age of the ' Pride of the District ' membership of the Ancient Order of Foresters in 1888 was only thirty six, six years older than ten years previously,

and four years less than in 1898. As Fisk observes, " the average age, of course, was bound to grow as the hard core of early members grew steadily older but the fact that over twenty years the average age increased only by ten years means that there must have been a reasonable influx of young men as others left or died ". (77) These social networks therefore appear to have broadly spanned adult age groups, and appear to have continued to attract young members, despite, perhaps because of, economic uncertainty.

There is no evidence of exclusion from concerts according to gender, but membership of friendly societies was very much a male province. Although societies exclusively for women did exist on the East Shropshire Coalfield, there appear to have been none in Madeley in 1891. (78) Women were only later allowed to join the previously male affiliated orders later - not until 1892 in the case of the Foresters. (79) The only events organised by friendly societies that were open to women and children were the summer trip to Liverpool, and the fair at the Oddfellows' Anniversary in the adjacent parish. Whilst, no doubt, they were welcome events, they could not be said of themselves to have had a significant impact upon the social networks of this portion of the community, who in fact comprised the majority.

Participants : Membership of the choral society was occupationally mixed. (80) It appears that the choral society no more owed its existence to the fact that Madeley was a mining community than did the band, and that there was no division or social exclusion according to income or occupation. By contrast, the adult education classes were strongly differentiated by occupation since two had a clear work-related purpose. The boys who attended one Art class were employees of the china company who part funded it. However a second Art class was entirely attended by ladies without regular employment, for whom it was a recreational, as well as a social activity. All but one of those attending the First Aid class were miners, nearly half of whom were chartermasters or managers. (81)

Active participation in friendly societies showed some differentiation by occupation. There were no tradespeople - licenced victuallers or dealers, for example. This is not surprising, as the societies were intended to primarily provide insurance against loss of earnings through sickness, but this sector of the community was not poor, and comprised nearly 10 % of the male population of the community. The tradespeople were likely to have had employees, family members, or assistants, who could continue the business if they were sick. Neither were there labourers, agricultural or otherwise, a further 10 % of the male population, who probably did fall into the poorest group, not earning enough, regularly enough, to have been able to pay the contributions.

	Choral Society	Adult classes	Friendly Societies
Mining	2	10	9
Manufacture	1	4	9
Earthenware (china)	0	2	3
Ironworks	1	0	1
Other	0	2	5
Dealing	0	2	0
Professional	1	4	4
Not Paid	2	0	0
Total	6	20	22

Table 7.8 : Social Network Composition - Non Sporting Associations (Occupation of Participants)

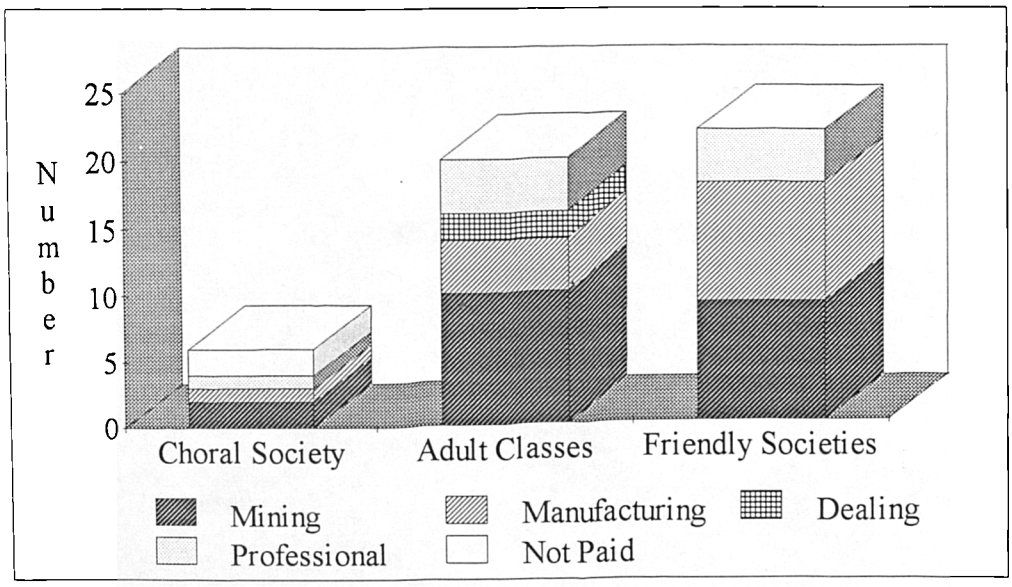


Chart 7.7 : Social Network Composition - Non Sporting Associations (Occupation of Participants)

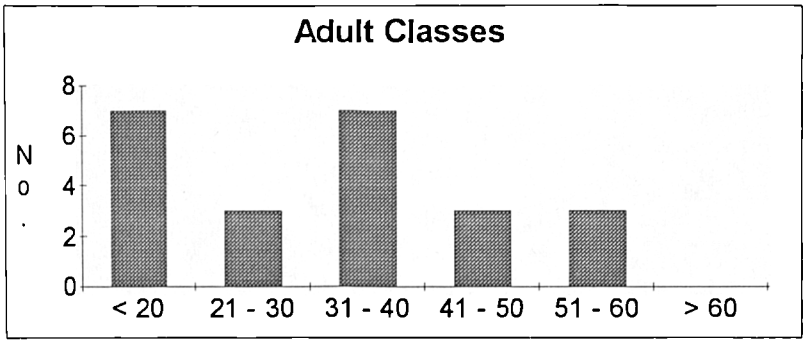
On the other hand, miners and those employed in manufacture were strongly represented as active participants, as they were in the wider membership. A further three were religious leaders, perhaps leading by example.

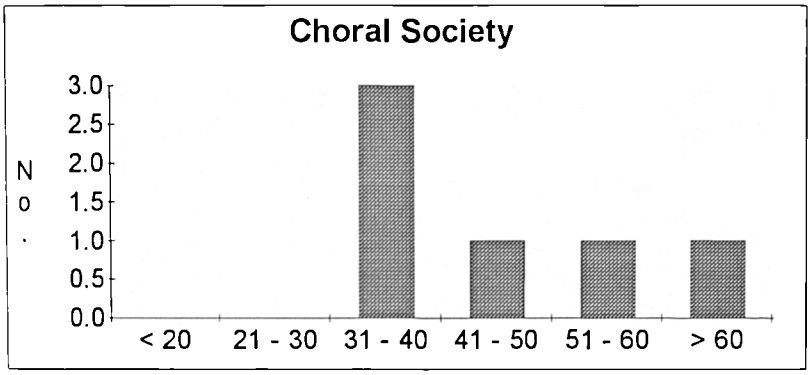
Active involvement appears to have been inclusive by occupation, in that it was open to all who could afford to, or were able to, belong to the societies themselves. These individuals strengthened social links with each other at the regular, sociable friendly society meetings as well as the occasional social events such as feast days. Alfred Williams, in late nineteenth-century Wiltshire, gives the impression of having particularly valued the friendly society feast day because of this inclusivity, it having attracted " farmers and all. " He emphasised that all the old people made a point of attending. (82) But this was only a partial inclusion - less than half the population. Women, whether in employment or not, and those who could not afford the regular contributions that the friendly societies required, were on the whole effectively excluded from active participation, as they were from membership.

	Choral Society	Adult classes	Friendly Societies
< 20	0	7	1
21 - 30	0	3	2
31 - 40	3	7	3
41 - 50	1	3	5
51 - 60	1	3	5
> 60	1	0	5
Total	6	23	21

Table 7.9 : Social Network Composition - Non Sporting Associations (Age of Participants)

Despite the relatively small numbers, there does appear to have been a clear contrast by age and gender in the membership of the non sporting associations. Half of the active participants in the choral society were in their thirties and the remainder were older. Similarly three quarters of the active participants in the friendly societies were over





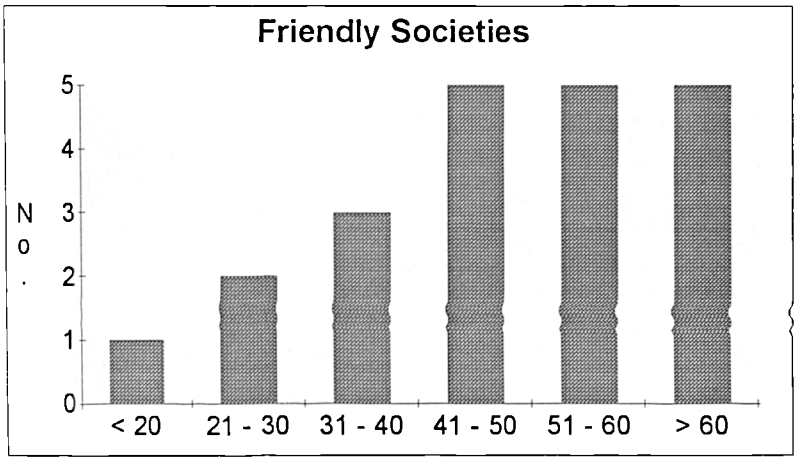


Chart 7.8 : Social Network Composition - Non Sporting Associations (Age of Participants)

forty. And although women were not excluded from the former, only one took an active part, whilst only two women were identified as active in a friendly society. Social networks in both were therefore strongly skewed by gender and age.

Those who met socially at adult education classes were even more clearly segregated by gender, and more by age, resulting from the different purposes of the classes described above. The Art class funded by the chinaworks only included boys, whereas the other Art class was entirely for ladies. The First Aid class, on the other hand, was only attended by men, of all ages.

Organisers : In the choral society just two long standing organisers were identified - the chemist, who left midway through the year to emigrate, and the mechanical engineer, who replaced him as Secretary. The latter provides the only possible link with a choral tradition in a mining community, having moved to Madeley from Chester-le-Street in Durham. Again, as in the sporting clubs, it appears that anyone willing to spend the time and energy on organisation could do so, and it was those particularly interested in the activity that did, rather than paternalistic employers. Even though William Anstice was an active member, his involvement appears to have been limited to playing the cello, and to being the tenor soloist. (83)

This also applied to the organisers of the friendly societies. Whilst some had a managerial role at the chinaworks, or owning a brick and tile works, as many did not, and had manual occupations, such as the miner and engine driver who were secretaries of societies. Those who had accounting skills acquired through their work, such as the wheelwright and the cement manufacturer, put them to use as treasurers of societies. And although the local vicar and Primitive Methodist ministers were active in friendly societies, they did not organise them. Men of all age groups were active as organisers - three quarters of organisers were over forty, but a quarter were under thirty. The most frequently mentioned organiser of the Oddfellows, the PG, was just twenty six. It appears that anyone committed enough could take such an active part.

(ii) Structure of networks

(a) Frequency

Musical concerts were held from time to time during the winter. (84) They therefore could only have a very limited impact upon the social networks of those who attended. The members must have met to practise for the concert performances, but still these social contacts were confined to the winter. The adult education classes, however, ran at least weekly throughout the year, so the social links so-made were more consistently renewed, over a longer period of time. (85)

The events organised by friendly societies that were designed to attract new members were occasional, held more often during the summer. Each society organised no more that one a year - for example the Shropshire Provident trip to Liverpool, or the Oddfellows District Anniversary at Wellington. The friendly societies therefore potentially had an important impact upon the social lives of the whole community, not because the events were frequent, but because they were among the few open to women and children, and the most socially inclusive.

Active members of the friendly societies met monthly, or in the case of the Foresters, every other week. And these meetings were not seasonal, so those members who did attend had the opportunity to strengthen social relationships regularly, and for many, over a long period of time. (86) Added to these regular meetings were the annual feasts, attended by a high proportion of members. (87) It appears that friendly societies could have been socially much more significant than has hitherto been recognised in late nineteenth-century mining communities.

The organisers of the friendly societies also stayed at the meetings longer, to attend to business, and some also attended half yearly District meetings, extending and

strengthening their social networks further still. Furthermore, for those most involved, there were members' funerals, and funeral suppers - about two during the year. For organisers, then, friendly societies could occupy a great deal of time year round, and for many years, working closely, and socialising, with members and co-organisers.

(b) Overlap

Participants

Associations : Unlike the other categories, almost half of those who were active in a non sporting association extended their social networks in others also. Nearly a third had networks that overlapped with those of sportsmen, and almost another third had social networks overlapping with those active in church or chapel.

Although there is very little evidence of overlap between choral society and sporting networks, nearly a quarter of those who attended adult education classes played cricket or football, and a third of active friendly society members also actively played, or helped to organise, one or more team sports. For these significant minorities, social networks were extended by participation in team sports, and there was no social barrier between the associations. It may also have been that social links made at one association were the catalyst for the extension of networks in other associations. For example, John Wylde and Harry Hancock both played quoits together, and were both active in the ' Royal Oak ' Lodge of the Oddfellows. James Yorke, Henry Gainham and William Worrall all played for Madeley Unity football club, and were active members of the Foresters' Court.

The fact that a relatively high proportion of people were active both in a non sporting association and in church or chapel, did not necessarily mean that social networks overlapped. Whilst individuals were active in a friendly society and a place of worship, both the friendly society and the denomination varied. It seems that activity in the different associations was related more to outlook and need, than to an extension of social networks through personal contacts in this instance.

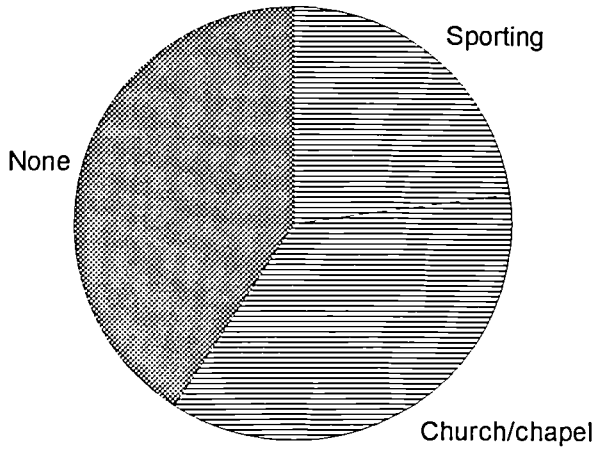
	Choral	Adult Classes	Friendly Societies	Total
Sport				
Team	1	5	7	13
Individual	0	0	1	1
Church/chapel	0	8	7	15
Non sport	0	0	0	0
No association overlap	6	9	12	27
Neighbours	0	2	4	6
Kin	0	2	0	2
Total	6	23	21	50

Table 7.10 : Social Network Structure - Non Sporting Associations (Overlap of Networks)

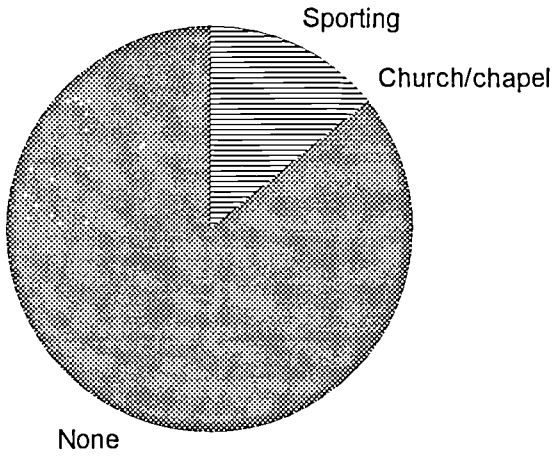
Amongst the non sporting associations, there was no overlap between the social networks, apart from limited overlap between friendly societies, many of which made a point of emphasising their distinctiveness from each other. Those based upon the three main workplaces only took membership from their employees. The Temperance Society's distinctiveness, and raison d' etre was based upon the membership not wishing to meet at public houses, unlike the other societies in the parish. The Oddfellows' and Foresters' distinctive regalia, emblems, ceremonies and passwords were designed to make members feel that they had more in common with each other, than with other workers, and to promote loyalty to that one society. (88)

Nevertheless, it has been shown that miners, and employees of the Madeley Court works, and Coalport chinaworks did belong to the Foresters and Oddfellows, despite the existence of societies at their places of work, so there was, therefore, some overlap between these two groups, and there could have also been unrecorded overlap between workplace societies and the Shropshire Provident,or Temperance Society.

Adult classes



Choral



Friendly Societies

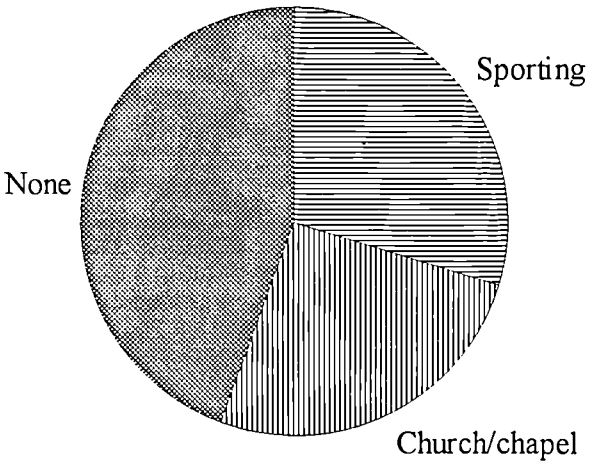


Chart 7.9 : Social Network Structure - Non Sporting Associations (Overlap)

Neighbourhood : In the adult education classes, there appears to have been little overlap by neighbourhood, apart from two miners, who both lived in Shooting Butt Lane, and may have encouraged each other to attend.

There is more evidence to suggest a connection through neighbours for active members of friendly societies. Almost a quarter of those identified were next door neighbours, and as they also belonged to the same lodge or court, it appears that neighbours may have encouraged each other to join, or to become more active, in the organisation. (89)

Kinship : There is no evidence of any kinship link between the members of the choral society, or the friendly societies. In the case of the latter, it would have been surprising if there had been, since children and women were almost entirely excluded. But in the adult classes there is one probable example; two of the chartermasters shared a surname, and were both born in the neighbouring parish of Dawley. It seems likely that the two were brothers, and that the decision to attend the class may have been a joint one, providing some very limited evidence that kin were a factor in extending each other's social networks.

Organisers

Of the eleven organisers of the friendly societies who could be identified, a third were strongly committed in another association, mainly a team sport, but also at the chapel (90). Whilst the numbers concerned are small, there does seem to have been a relatively strong likelihood that organisers of one association would be willing to help to organise another, although not so clearly defined that they could be described as a distinguishably separate ' cadre '.

(iii) Content of Networks

The variable attendance at the Choral Society concerts suggests a relatively luke warm enjoyment of such occasions. Their finishing time of 10.15 p.m., contrasts strongly with the equivalent time of 3.00 a.m. for the balls, in which there was much greater opportunity for active socialising. (91) The Society itself seems to have struggled for members from time to time. Although it had managed to stay in existence for fifteen years, it was said to have " been through some troublesome times. " (92) There was no report of such difficulties for other associations, although few had existed for so long. These pieces of evidence together suggest limited commitment and enjoyment by some members, contrasted with much stronger commitment by a very small number of members, who kept the society going over such a long period.

The adult education classes had a less social, and a more serious, purpose than the other associations and clubs considered so far, although this was less true for the ladies' Art class. Since this was held twice a week, it appears that the class was enjoyed enough by its members to support such frequent sessions and it may have been particularly valued as a rare opportunity for women. On the other hand, the fact that all those who had attended the First Aid classes through the previous year had come again to renew their qualifications may say as much about the individuals' commitment to the qualification, as the social benefit of the sessions. (93)

To turn to the attitudes of the wider community towards events organised by the friendly societies, numbers speak for themselves. "A very large attendance " was reported for the Anniversary fair at Wellington, and over four hundred people from Madeley itself were prepared to leave the community before six o'clock in the morning, for the trip to Liverpool, organised by the Shropshire Provident. Such opportunities were clearly highly valued. (94)

The research showing the value placed upon the development of social relationships at the regular friendly society meetings has been outlined above. In Madeley, despite the availability of the Anstice Memorial Institute, built specifically for meetings of community organisations, two of the five friendly societies in the community not linked to the place of work continued to have their regular fortnightly or monthly meetings in public houses, and a third, the Foresters, used public houses for District meetings and feasts. The conviviality of the meetings had very much been linked with public houses and the drinking of beer, so it seems that the opportunity to socialise was still important, despite an alternative having been readily available. Furthermore, the meeting of the Shropshire Provident Society was described in the press as a " club night ", rather than a " meeting ", suggesting again that the social element was more important than the business element. (95)

The very large attendance at the feast of the Foresters, held in a public house, with songs and entertainments, leads to the conclusion that the opportunity to strengthen social links was highly valued by many members, and that feast days were important social events in the community in 1891, as they were in Wiltshire and elsewhere. This evidence points clearly to a continuation, and continued valuing, of social links developed within the friendly societies.

Another distinctive feature of the friendly societies was the particular regalia, emblems, passwords, special handshakes and ceremonies, used, " to encourage the enthusiasm, and to strengthen the loyalty " of the members. (96) Evidence that these continued to be used provides a further indication that the societies in the research community continued to inspire such loyalty between members in 1891, and that the members continued to value such strong links. At the funeral of John Pooler, twenty members of the Foresters headed the procession " in full regalia. " (97) At a banquet of the Madeley court in 1873, a member's health was toasted by, " a good round of Forester's Fire ", a ceremony used up until the present time. (98) In 1899, the special " initiatory ceremony " was still being

conducted. (99) Again, it appears that members' attitudes towards friendly societies were still strong and positive enough towards the end of the century in Madeley, for the regalia and special ceremonies to have been in current use.

3. Networks Based upon Sporting Associations

The main team sports played in the research community and the parish of Madeley during 1891 were football, cricket and quoits. Individual sporting clubs were relatively recent phenomena. Within the research community itself there was just one athletics club. But within the parish two clubs had been established during 1891 - the cycling club, an athletics club at Coalport, and a longer established rowing club met at Ironbridge.

By far the most attention in the press is given to football, with no less than twenty one different named teams reported in Madeley parish. Outstanding was the Ironbridge team, which was particularly successful in 1891, winning the Shropshire and District League, and reaching the final of the Shropshire Cup. (100) The principal club within the community itself, Madeley Unity, was large enough to run two teams, and it also had a very successful year in 1891, winning the Madeley Junior Cup. (101) A number of other teams played regularly within the community, and more still received occasional mentions in the press, indicating perhaps that they were drawn together on an ad hoc basis. (102)

By contrast, there was just one cricket club reported in Madeley, which ran two teams. (103) Its success, though, was on a par with that of the Ironbridge football team, being one of the two strongest teams in Shropshire in 1891. Quoits was the only remaining team sport in which community members could have participated. There were two clubs in the parish, at Madeley Wood and at Coalport, both just outside the research community.

(i) Composition of Networks

(a) Network Size

Spectators : By far the largest crowds drawn together for a single event in the community organised by associations are reported for football matches, and most particularly for those that were the most competitive and exciting, such as the semi final and final cup matches for ' The Men of Iron ', which drew up to two thousand spectators, and even one thousand four hundred in snow. (104) If football was indeed overwhelmingly a male concern, the figures suggest that approximately a third of all men in the community came together in a social context at these matches. (105)

As the Shropshire Cup competition progressed Madeley Unity was said to have drawn " a good gate ". By the time of the Cup Final it appears that the whole community was affected by ' football fever '. In addition to those who had gone to watch on the extra trains, a crowd awaited the telegram giving the result in the Market Square, along with the Volunteer Band. At the Broseley Sports' Day the football games were reported also to be the main attraction. (106)

But it was not only at these exceptional games that large crowds came together to watch football. For example, Ironbridge's match against Wolverhampton Wanderers, played on a bitterly cold day, did " not produce the game or the gate expected ", although eight hundred were present. (107) Although it is not possible to be precise numerically, probably more people came together regularly to watch football than to take part in any other activity, apart from collective worship. On any one Saturday there were usually between four and six teams from the parish playing, and sometimes more towards the end of the year. If it is taken that half of these were played at home, then spectators had the choice of three or more matches to watch, and " large " or " fair " crowds are mentioned in the press reports for several teams.

However it is easy to exaggerate the level of support. Despite the success of Ironbridge, at the club's annual meeting it was thought that it had been a poor year financially, due to poor attendance at matches. (108) Even though the club was at the top of the league towards the end of the season, it was reported that the match played against Ludlow at home had a " very poor " attendance. (109) Furthermore, the fact that none of the individuals who have given extensive autobiographical oral evidence on their lives in Madeley at the turn of the century referred to football at all indicates perhaps that for many in the community, football supporting only impinged on their lives when their team was doing exceptionally well, if at all.

The data therefore indicate that watching football matches was enjoyed by many, probably hundreds, in the research community throughout the season. Whilst this represented a minority of the community, and probably even the men, football games did provide a focus for more people to come together regularly at a limited number of venues, than did any other single activity, apart from collective worship.

By comparison, there is little mention of the spectators at the Madeley Club cricket matches. Often regular support was more difficult for cricket, and involved long and time consuming journeys, as the cricket teams were more widely spread across Shropshire than were football teams. In addition, many first team matches were played on a Wednesday, which could have made support difficult for many working people, and much more time was needed to watch an entire game. (110) Nevertheless, as in the case of football, the greatest interest was shown for the most competitive matches. Broseley and Madeley were described as the " big two " clubs in Shropshire. (111) Even a Wednesday match between the two clubs drew " a large assemblage ". (112) In late nineteenth-century Staffordshire whole families watched cricket matches between the teams of rival mining villages, and this may have been the case for this match, regardless of the day of the week. (113) In the Forest of Dean as many miners as possible were given

the day off for special occasions, for it was known by the employers that many would be absent in any case. (114) This may well have been the case in Madeley, since William Anstice (of the family owning the Madeley Wood Company) was an active member of the cricket team himself. (115) It seems likely, therefore, that these matches provided foci that were inclusive by occupation, age and gender, for a significant portion of the community.

However, apart from such exceptional matches, no specific information is available to give an indication of the numbers who more generally watched cricket. It is difficult to imagine, though, in the light of the difficulties referred to above, that for most matches the number of spectators approached the usual size of football crowds.

There is even less reference to spectators of quoits in the press, only to friends joining the teams for social occasions after matches, and the matches seem to have been much smaller scale events. However early in the twentieth century Mr. Owen recalls that there were quoits games at a lot of public houses in the community, and that hundreds of spectators " lined the rails " to watch the game, and bet on the result. (116) It is difficult to know whether this was a twentieth century development, or whether the games, held on a more informal basis, were under reported in the late nineteenth century. But even so, it would appear that the numbers watching quoits in the community were less than those watching cricket, and far fewer than those watching football.

The social life of the wider community was also affected by the sports clubs through fund-raising events such as concerts or balls. (117) Even when these were well attended, the numbers of those involved were relatively small, compared to the numbers watching matches, but relatively large compared to the numbers actively taking part in individual sports. (118) Affecting the social lives of many more were summertime annual events run by the individual sporting clubs, such as the Madeley Athletic Club Sports, and the Ironbridge Rowing Club Regatta within the parish, and many other such events within

easy reach. (119)

All of these are reported to have attracted thousands, with three thousand estimated at Shifnal, and even more at Wenlock, for which special trains were laid on from Madeley. (120) It is impossible to say accurately how many of these participants came from within the community, but it seems reasonable to estimate that around two hundred and fifty from the research community attended the Shifnal or Wenlock sports - under a tenth of the population over the age of ten. (121) It seems probable that an even higher proportion of the community attended the Ironbridge Regatta and Madeley Athletic Sports - around a quarter. (122) These events therefore provided opportunities for more members in the community than watched the most exciting football matches to develop their social networks.

These events were generally held on Mondays or Tuesdays. It appears that as for major cricket matches, either the big employers gave their workforce time off, or employees took it, as they had earlier in the century on ' Reckoning Monday '. (123) Potter noted that for village carnivals in the Forest of Dean, " the two big pits would release as many as possible, and lose more ", which may be part of the explanation for the size of the events. (124)

Participants : From the degree of press coverage of team sports, it would be easy to assume that participation was of far greater social significance than in fact it was. (125) Less than 3 % of the members of the research community, and just over 5 % of men, played in a team sport that was reported. Clearly the social significance of team sports overall lay in community interest and spectating, even though the sports may have been very important socially in the lives of those who did take an active part. (126)

Roughly twice as many members of the community took part in football, than in cricket, which itself had three times as many participants identified than those for quoits. (127)

The numbers participating in organised individual sports were generally smaller than those playing team sports. Just eleven were identified as taking part in Madeley Athletic Sports. The Ironbridge Cycling Club had only been newly formed in the middle of the year, with fifty five honorary and twenty five ordinary members, but only four young men from the research community were traced, and only one member of the rowing club lived in the research community.(128) In terms of the size of social networks of those participating in individual sports, as was the case for the size of networks of those participating in team sports, it is clear that community wide events that they organised affected the social lives of many more people than did participation in the sport itself.

Organisers : Reports in the press of special meetings of clubs not only give some insight into the relative sizes of organising groups and committee members, but also into the relative numbers of dedicated supporters, who could be included at this social level, since they demonstrated greater commitment then the players who did not attend these meetings. The size of the attendance appears to have been more closely related to the perceived quality of the social links, and the probable enjoyment of the occasion, than to the success of the club. Thus it was said that " good " and " large " numbers attended meetings at the Barley Mow, to present the Cup to Madeley Unity, and for the club's annual meeting. (129) Similarly " a very large company " attended Madeley Cricket Club's annual concert, and " a fair sprinkling " attended the smaller Madeley Wood Quoits Club annual meeting in the clubhouse - a public house. (130) On the other hand, the annual meeting of the Ironbridge Football Club, that had won the Shropshire League, and reached the final of the Shropshire Cup, had " a meagre attendance " at the Assembly Rooms, at which the evening was purely devoted to business, and not pleasure. (131)

Even so, this " meagre attendance " was sufficient for all committee members and officers of the club to have been completely replaced - twenty nine individuals, making the total attendance of committed individuals at the meeting at least sixty. This suggests that the attendance at the other sports club meetings described above as " good " or

" large " must have been much greater.

Nevertheless, the number of those closely involved in organising the Cricket Club was smaller than the Ironbridge committee, and those running Madeley Unity Club were fewer still - ten, and only three were on the committee of the quoits club. (132) About a quarter of those named as playing football also helped to run their clubs, a third of those playing cricket, and nearly half of the quoits players. (133) There appears to have been an inverse relationship between the size of participatory networks, and those of the organisers of team sports, even though numerically there were more men involved in organising football than there were organising cricket or quoits. However for all team sports the ratio between participants and organisers is relatively high, so there seems to have been a good degree of willingness to help in organisation within the community.

Only one member of the committees of the cycling and rowing clubs lived in the research community. However, fifteen individuals were identified as helping to organise the Madeley Athletic Sports. The extent to which it is likely that these men were closely involved in running the club, or helped to organise the sports day on a one-off basis will be discussed below. But in any event, it was a significant number of people to have been willing to put in the extra commitment required to organise the event, as many as organised the cricket club in Madeley, and more than the number identified as organisers of the football club.

(b) Network Membership

Spectators : Unfortunately no data are available to reveal who were the spectators at team sport matches. However a limited amount gives an indication of who came to the sports days and regattas organised by the clubs. At the Ironbridge Regatta it was reported that " all *classes* took part in the dancing at the Market Hall, and that, " social

distinction was for a time forgotten. " (134) It appears that this event as a whole, and in particular dance, was a catalyst for the development of social links between classes, and therefore between occupational groups. The size of the sports days and regattas further suggests that they did not exclude the working class. The events were socially inclusive, rather than divisive.They were therefore of great significance in that they provided a rare, perhaps the only, opportunity in the year for *all* parts of the community to make social contact with each other.

Concerts and balls run by the sports clubs to raise funds such as the Rowing Club Ball, on the other hand, were aimed at the more prosperous members of the community. (135) For these people, the occasion provided opportunities to strengthen and extend their social networks, although it was a social occasion that was exclusive, emphasising economic, if not social, divisions.

The dancing that featured in all the sports days and regattas also provided opportunities to break down social barriers between young men and women, as well as between occupational groups. For example at the Wenlock Olympic Games it was noted that " dancing was extensively indulged in by the young men and maidens. " (136) These occasions provided opportunities for young women to develop social networks, and also opportunities for young men and women to socialise together. The Rowing Club Ball, too, was a social occasion for single young men and women. Only eight of the thirtyfive attending from Madeley were married. The majority were single young men and women, who made the most of the opportunity, and carried on dancing until 3.00 in the morning. (137)

Participants : It has been suggested in the literature that cricket and football were both important for miners in terms of playing, as well as spectating, although evidence to support this view is limited. Even less hard evidence is available that relates to the extent to which miners played in quoits teams at the end of the nineteenth century. (138) In the

research community roughly a fifth of footballers, and a quarter of quoits players were miners, whereas about a third of the employed male members of the community were employed in that occupation. On the other hand, nearly a half of the cricket players were miners. Thus miners were underrepresented as football and quoits players, but over represented as cricketers. (139)

Those employed in manufacturing were over represented in all sports, comprising around half of the players, compared to just over a third of the male workforce. However, none of these were iron workers; nearly all worked either in tile manufacture, or at the china works. The reasons for this can only be speculative, but it seems possible that shift working may have affected the ability of iron workers to commit themselves to time regularly, as it seems possible that the co-operative nature of much of the employment at tile and china works may have encouraged an interest in co-operative leisure activity.

Occupational group		football	cricket	quoits
Mining	15	12	2	
Manufacturing	30	6	4	
Agriculture	0	1	1	
Dealing	3	4	0	
Domestic Service	3	1	0	
Professional	5	3	1	
Industrial Service	2	0	1	
Transport	0	1	0	
Not Paid	0	1	1	

Table 7.11 : Social Network Composition - Team Sporting Associations (Occupation of Participants)

Overall, a wide range of occupations were represented in all team sports, with schoolteachers, shopkeepers, owners of brick and tile works and chartermasters playing alongside potters, gilders, waggoners, shepherds, servants, miners and labourers.

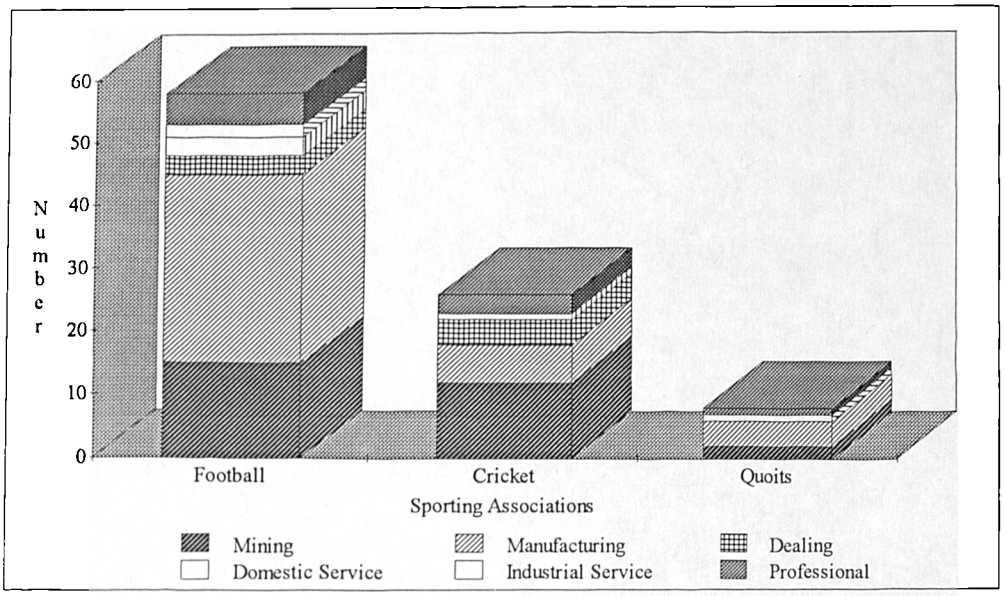


Chart 7.10 : Social Network Composition : Sporting Associations (Occupation of Participants)

The evidence for Madeley in 1891 therefore indicates that on the whole, miners were no more likely than those in other occupations to have embraced team sports, but if miners were particularly strongly represented in any team sport, it was cricket. (140) If there was a propensity of those in any particular occupation to play team sports, it was those in china or tile manufacture. There is little evidence to suggest social division or exclusion related to the playing of team sports - rather the reverse, with more evidence of inclusion, apart from the absence of iron workers - an occupational group of significant size in the community.

A factor influencing the apparent preference for cricket amongst miners, and football amongst those in the tile and china industries may lie in the age structure of those employed in each occupation. It is not surprising, given the physical demands of the sport, that nearly a half of the football players were under twenty (and two thirds single), whereas in the more leisurely game of cricket, a third were in their forties (and three quarters married).

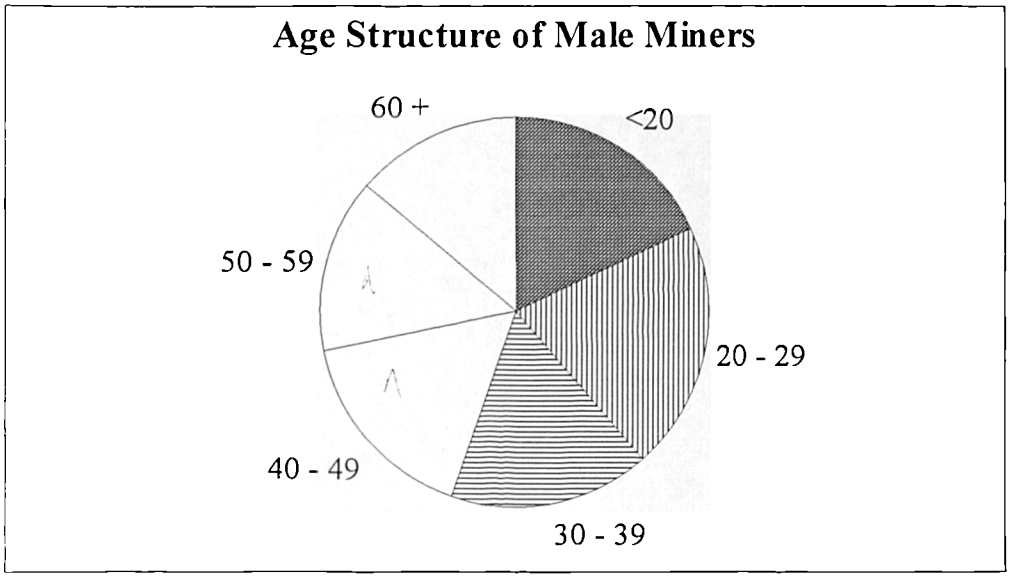
At the same time, nearly three quarters of those in tile and china manufacture, the principal occupational group amongst footballers, were under 30. By contrast, nearly a half of miners, who dominated the cricket team, were 40 or older.

		under 20	20s	30s	40s	50s	60+
M1	**no.**	64	73	59	58	51	49
	%	18	21	17	17	14	14
MF7	**no.**	96	70	29	17	12	6
	%	41	31	15	6	4	3

Table 7.12 : the Age Structure of Male Miners (M1), and Tile/China Workers (MF7)

This correlation between the age structure of participants in team sports, and that of the largest groups in paid regular employment may have been closely influenced by the relative prosperity of each trade. The depression in the iron and coal trades may have resulted in a comparatively old work force, so that fewer young miners were available to play football, whereas the chinaworks and tile trade were expanding, and taking on more young men. If this were indeed so, then it would be true to say that the social networks in the community focused upon team sport were strongly influenced by the fact that Madeley was a long established, and declining, mining community.

Nevertheless, participation in team sport was inclusive in terms of age, in that men from well under twenty to well over 50 years of age played regularly for at least one team, even though social networks tended to have been segregated to a degree according to age, and entirely according to gender, since there is no evidence that any women played team sport.



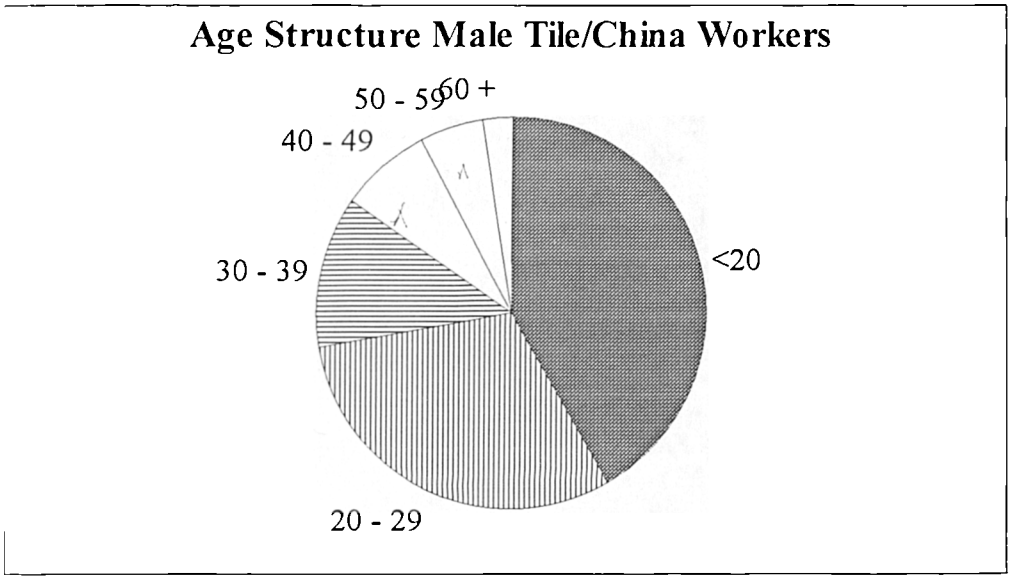
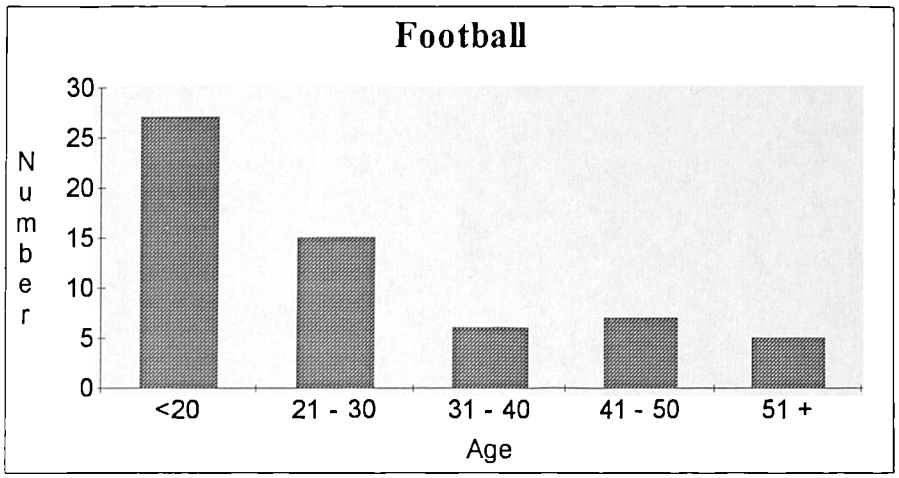
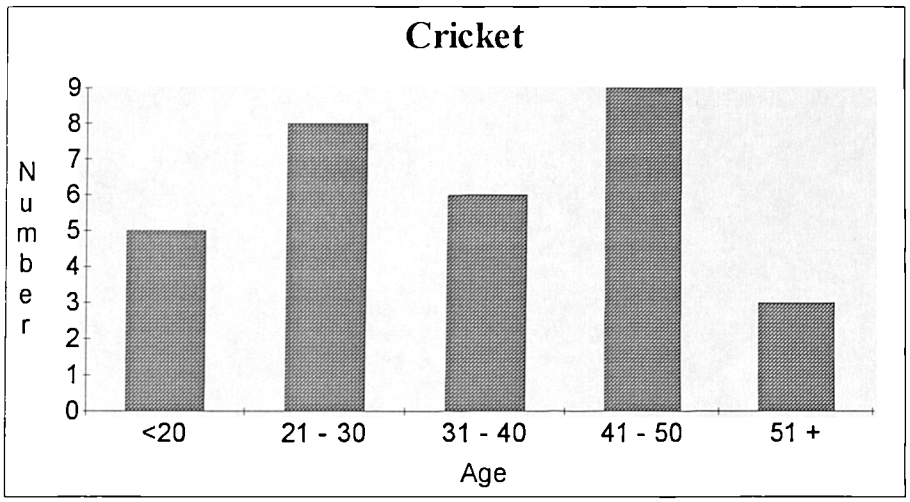


Chart 7.11 : The Ages of Male Miners and Tile/China Workers

Age		Football	Cricket	Quoits	Total
under 20	no.	27	5	1	33
	%	44	17	11	
21 - 30	no.	15	8	2	25
	%	24	28	22	
31 - 40	no.	6	6	3	15
	%	10	21	33	
41 - 50	no.	7	9	1	17
	%	11	31	11	
51 +	no.	5	3	2	10
	%	8	10	22	

Table 7.13 : Social Network Composition - Team Sporting Associations (Age)





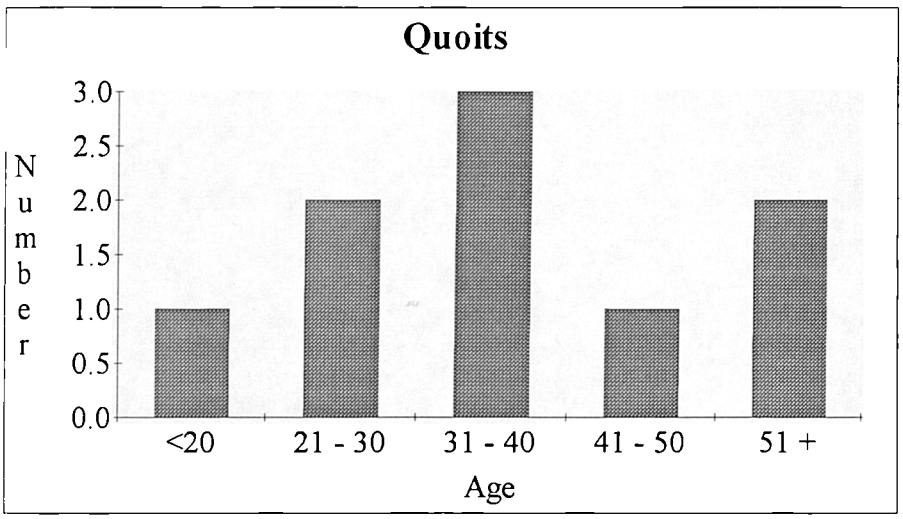


Chart 7.12 : Social Network Composition - Sporting Associations (Age of Participants)

Whilst a link has been made in the literature between mining as an occupation and interest in team sport, this has not generally been the case for individual sports. All of those associated with athletics, and in employment, had a manual occupation, but members of the cycling and rowing clubs had a range of occupations. As for team sport, there was no evidence of social exclusion from the sport by occupation, income or ' class '. (141)

Those taking part in individual sports were almost entirely young unmarried men. The Cycling Club held a smoking concert to attract new members. It would be surprising if women had attended. Whilst women were not necessarily excluded, it seems that the sporting associations served to emphasise the social division between men and women. Most of the entrants to the Madeley Athletic Sports were schoolboys under sixteen, and most of the events were limited by age, presumably reflecting the membership of the club. It appears that athletics was encouraged at school by the national schoolmaster, Henry Roberts, who was also involved in the running of the athletic sports. As a result of the apparent enthusiasm of one individual in particular, then, the boys had the opportunity to maintain the social links that they had made at school, or to strengthen them, through the athletics club. (142)

All the rowing and cycle club members were in their 30s or younger, and all of the members were single, with three of the four young men living in relatively lonely situations. (143) One was a grocer's assistant, living in the shop, away from his family in Dawley. Another lived alone with his very elderly widowed father, and the third lived with his sister. It appears that these young men were relatively free of family responsibilities, so had the time and disposable income to take part, and also that part of their motivation may have been to *develop* their social networks through cycling. The individual sports clubs therefore appear to have offered social opportunities especially for younger men, but not due to social exclusion, but the nature of the activity.

Organisers : It does appear that those who helped to run the teams were more likely to have had non manual occupations. But there is no sense that the organisation of the sports was motivated by paternalism. (144) It appears more that those in occupations such as teachers, shopkeepers or farmers, willingly took on the extra work, as they had the necessary book-keeping skills, and perhaps also were not limited by shift working. The teachers, in particular, took on refereeing, having perhaps more experience in this capacity, and more authority in a young men's sport, even though they did not play themselves. And since just one chartermaster, and one brick and tile manufacturer helped to organise team sport, it appears more likely that their motive was personal interest, and a willingness to use their organisational skills to help, rather than a paternalistic desire to control.

A number of the organisers worked manually in mining or manufacture, and again, those in the china and tile making industries seem to have been particularly willing not only to play team sports, but also to help to organise them. There is not, therefore, any evidence of social exclusion for those who wished to become more intensively involved in the organisation of team sports.

Occupation	Football	Cricket	Quoits
Mining	2	2	1
Manufacturing	6	0	2
Agriculture	0	1	0
Dealing	2	4	0
Professional	2	2	1
Not Paid	1	0	1

Table 7.14 : Social Network Composition - Team Sports (Occupation of Organisers)

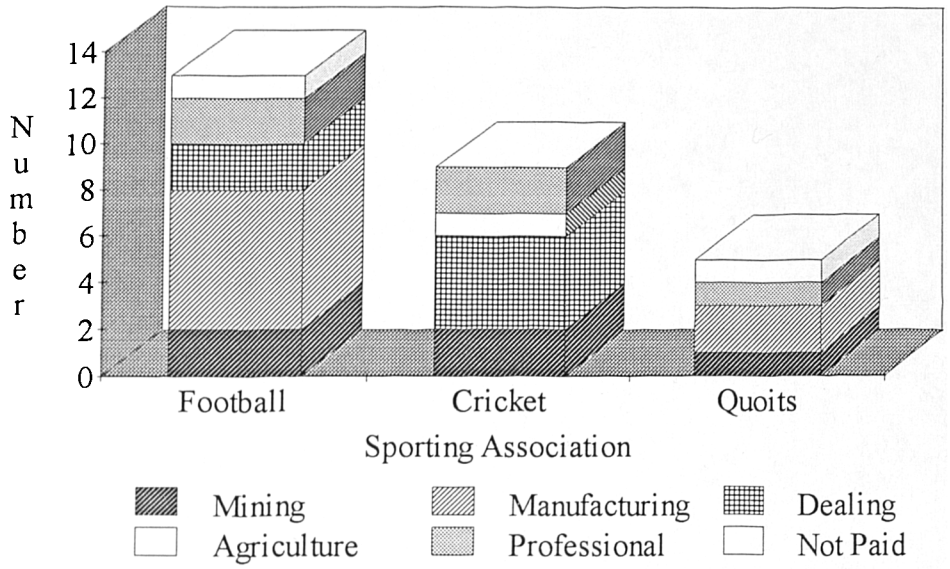


Chart 7.13 : Social Network Composition - Sporting Associations (*Occupation of Organisers*)

Whilst it is not surprising that the organisers of football in particular tended to have been older than the players, it is remarkable that many were relatively young, even under the age of twenty. These findings add to the impression of inclusivity - that any who were willing to help could do so. And such a willingness to take on responsibility at an early age could be taken to indicate a strong sense of community, and a Communitarian sense of responsibility.

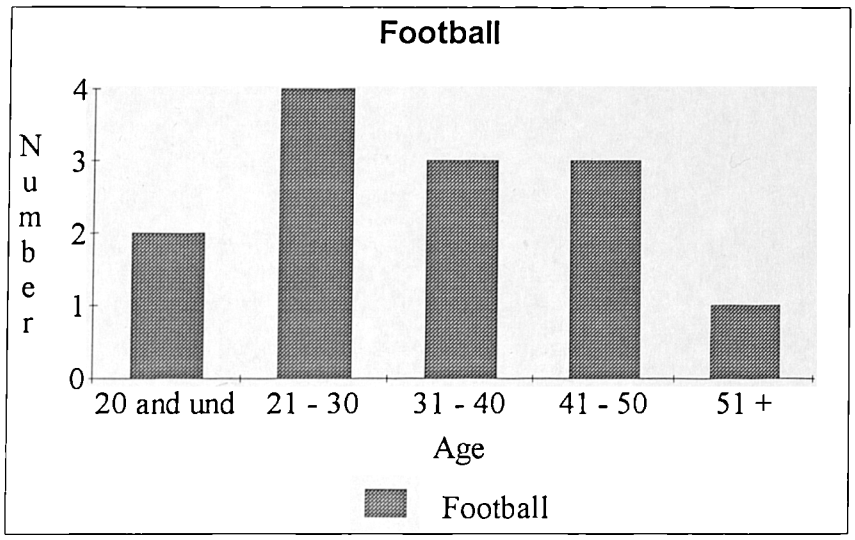
As in team sports, the impression given by the occupations of those who organised athletics is that anyone with the organisational skills and interest could become more closely involved, and no one was excluded. Two thirds had no obvious economic motive for helping to run the Sports Day, with a range of occupations represented, including an ironstone mining, tile manufacturing, teaching, printing and farming. Furthermore, a third helped to run, and some participated in other sports, demonstrating a clear interest in promoting sport generally.

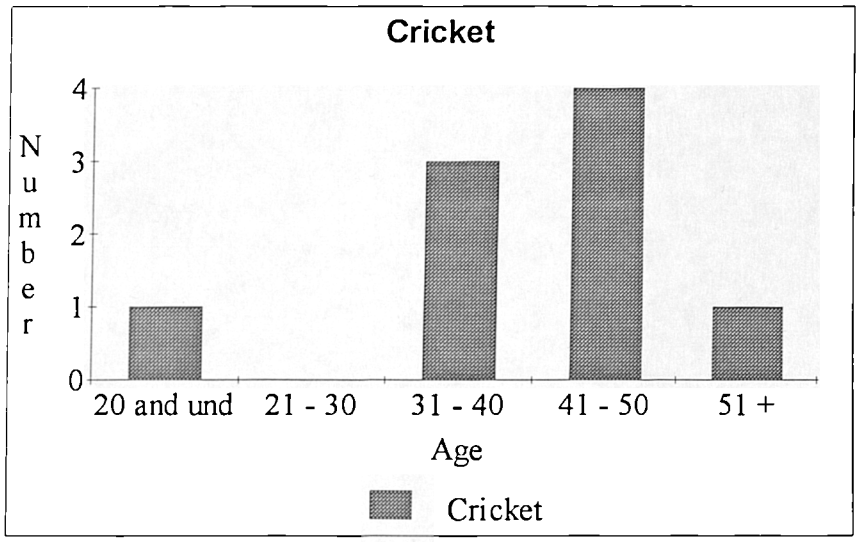
Age	Football	Cricket	Quoits
Under 20	2	1	1
21 - 30	4	0	1
31 - 40	3	3	2
41 - 50	3	4	0
51 +	1	1	1

Table 7.15 : Social Network Composition -Team Sports (Age of Organisers)

However, a third of those who organised the Athletic Sports were shopkeepers, for whom there is no evidence of any other connection with sport. It appears therefore that it was in their commercial interest to support such an event, drawing people into the town, and this was a one-off occasion that did not have an important impact upon their social networks, and who probably did not have an ongoing involvement in athletics club meetings. Even so, their willingness to contribute to the organisation of the event still had an effect on the social lives of the many who did attend the day.

The men who helped to organise athletics were of all ages, from the eighteen year old all round sportsman, W.G. Dyas and 19 year old farmer's son, to the fifty two year old schoolteacher. There was no bias towards any age group, and as was the case for team sports, the impression is one of inclusivity in respect of age, and also of marital status. (145)





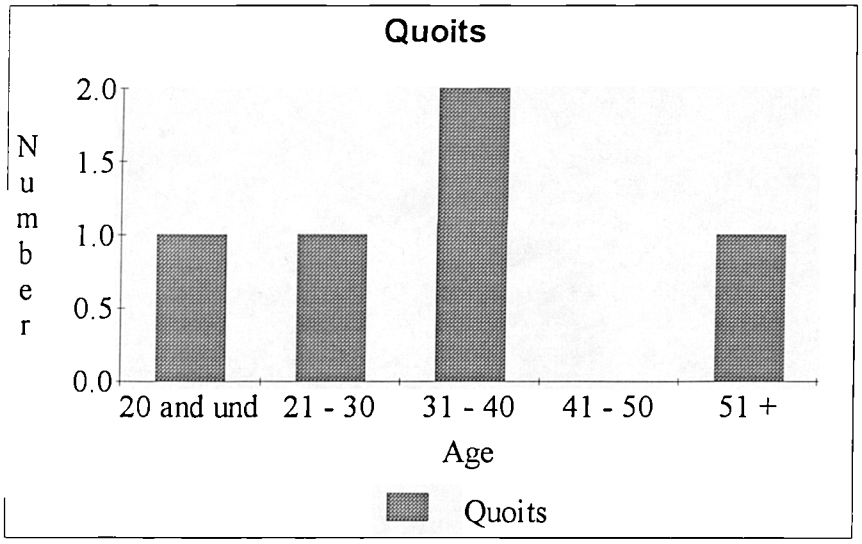


Chart 7.14 : Social Network Composition - Sporting Associations (Age of Organisers)

(ii) Structure of networks

(a) Frequency

As far as the team sports are concerned, the available data show the frequency of matches and the length of the playing season. From these it can therefore be shown the maximum frequency with which spectators could have attended and strengthened social networks, and the minimum frequency with which participants (players) and organisers could have met together. (146)

There was a good deal of variation both in the length of season, and the frequency of matches between team sports. The length of the cricket season was the shortest, comprising little more than three months, whilst that of football occupied between seven and eight and a half months. (147)

The quoits matches were the least frequent - just monthly, so there is only evidence that the eight members of the team met on five occasions in the year. On the other hand, first team cricket matches were usually played twice a week, so members played together about 30 teams in the year. (148) Football matches were confined to Saturdays, but due to the longer season, team members of the main clubs met to play roughly as many times over the year as did the first cricket team, although games were more sporadic for teams not apparently constituted as clubs.

Thus, over the year, cricket players spent longer together for matches (given also the length of the game) during the season, but came together to play on no more occasions than football players over the year. Quoits was an altogether more casual affair. Spectators of football were able to maintain their interest over a larger portion of the year than followers of the other team games, and were probably able to reach more away matches. In terms of frequency, then, football and cricket potentially provided much

more opportunity for participants to renew social links than did quoits, and football may have had the most social impact, since the season extended over a longer period, most matches were played on Saturdays, and away matches were played nearer to the community. (149)

Although there was just one regatta and one athletic sports organised by individual clubs within the parish during the summer of 1891, there were a number of similar events in neighbouring towns, and it has been shown that these events drew crowds from the local area. Between April and August there were at least three regattas and three athletic sports within easy travelling distance of the research community. Members of the community could have attended one such event each of the summer months. The social significance of the events does not lie in the opportunity that they afforded for strengthening ties on a regular basis (important though this may have been, in providing an opportunity for the whole family, for example, to have spent time together), but in their social inclusivity, and the opportunity to break down class or gender barriers, and as a focus of anticipated enjoyment for all.

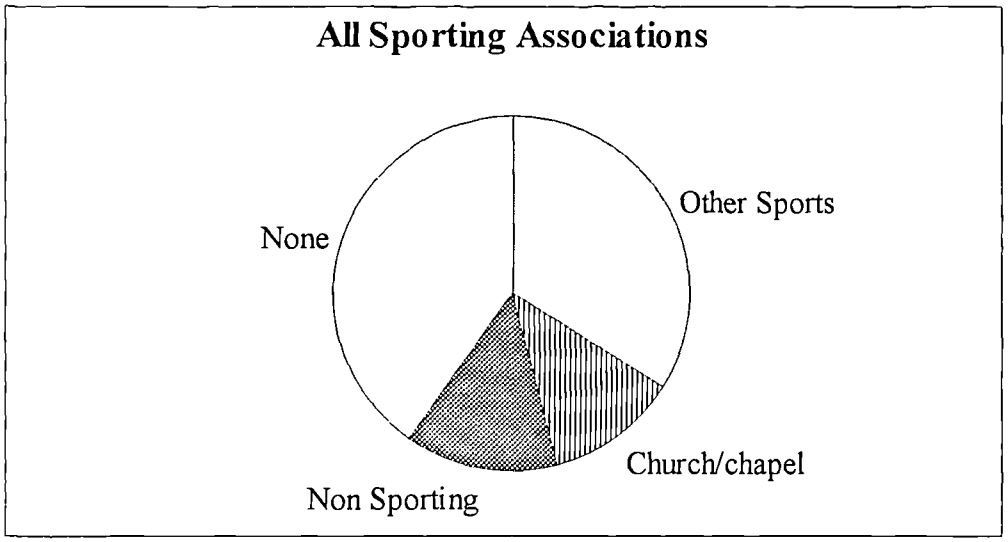
There is no direct evidence to tell us how often the members of either the athletics, cycling or rowing clubs met. However if it is assumed that all were principally active during the summer months only, and met regularly, no more than once a week. If so, their members met each other less often than the members of the cricket teams, for example, so that they had fewer opportunities to strengthen social links.

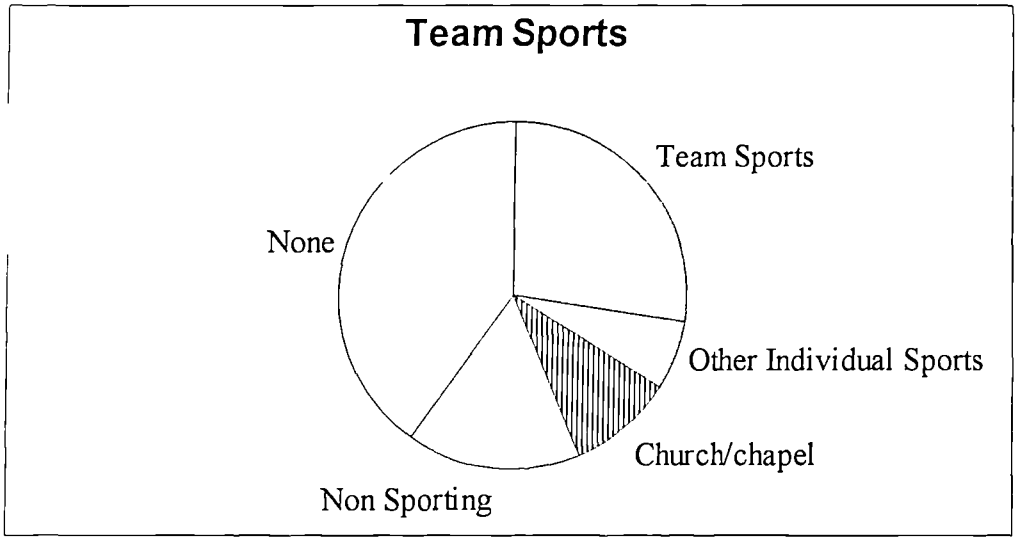
(b) Overlap

Associations : Close to a half of all those identified as participating in a sporting club also took part in the activities of at least one other association in the community. Given the long working hours for most at the close of the nineteenth century, and the likelihood that the data underestimate numbers belonging to associations, this proportion would seem to indicate that the social networks of sports players were relatively close knit. This was true both for team and individual sports players.

However the social networks of participants in team sports were more likely to overlap with other team sports, than with individual sports. A fifth of team sport players played more than one team sport. This was particularly marked amongst cricketers, a half of whom also played football. For these individuals, sporting social contacts continued throughout the year on a regular basis (at least weekly), and social networks established in this way were therefore relatively wide. Overlap between the social networks of team sports players and participants in individual sports was much more limited, as it was between members of the individual sporting clubs. (150)

The overlap of the social networks of organisers of sporting associations demonstrates a similar pattern. An even higher proportion of organisers than participants took part in the activities of at least one other association in the community - two thirds. The great majority of these were other sporting associations. Furthermore, a quarter of the organisers of sporting associations helped to organise more than one club. The organisers of athletics were especially active, with only one eighth not having been involved in other community organisations. Their social networks therefore showed a high degree of overlap and commitment.





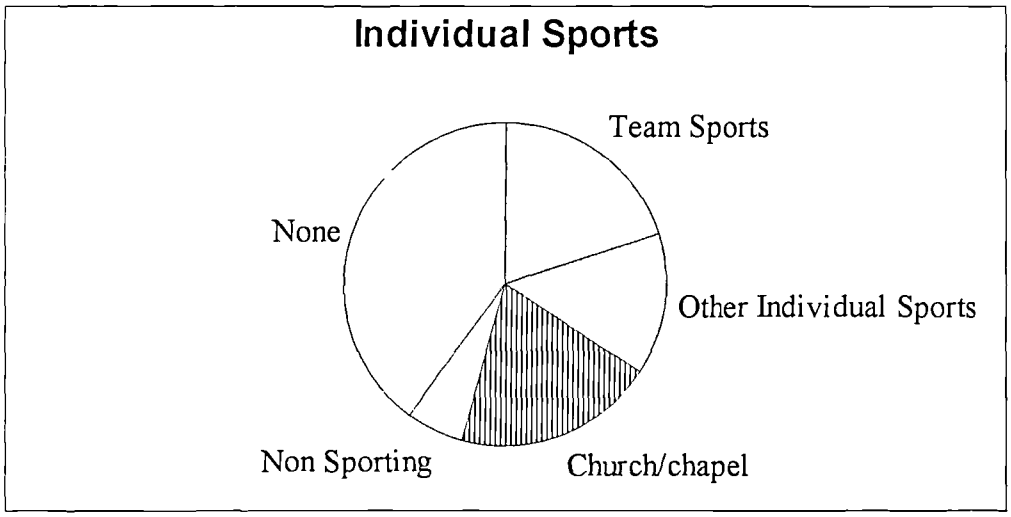


Chart 7.15 : Social Network Structure – Sporting Associations (Overlap of Participants)

Participants in at least one other sporting association	9
Organisers of at least one other sporting association	8
Participants in at least one other non sporting association	7
Organiser of one other non sporting association	1
Not involved in any other association	9
Total	31

Table 7.16 : Social Network Structure - Sporting Associations (Overlap of Networks of Organisers)

A fifth of the organisers of team sports were actively involved in two or more clubs. It appears that anyone who wished could become involved, and that those with the most interest, energy and time did so, regardless of age. (151) Again, the social networks appear to have been relatively open. And all of the organisers of the Athletics Sports also helped to organise other sports. It therefore seems that they too had a genuine interest in sport, and it was through this interest that their social networks extended.

It was a little more likely that those involved in team sports also belonged to a non sporting association than one focused upon an individual sport (16 %). Although the degree of overlap is not great, it is not, perhaps surprising that team players were motivated to take part in an association that emphasised co-operative, rather than individual, activity, and that for them, the co-operative element of the activity was important. A football, cricket or quoits player was as likely to have been a member of the choral society as to enter an athletics race, and was more likely to attend an evening class, or been active in a friendly society than to have been active in athletics, cycling or rowing. However the organisers of sporting associations were very unlikely to also help to organise a non sporting association. (152) It would appear that although it may have been possible to find the time to run clubs with different seasons, or that met less often (for example quoits), the additional time demands needed to run a lodge of a friendly society, for example, were too great.

Team players were also more likely to be actively involved in church or chapel activities, than in playing individual sports (13 %). It might be expected that those playing team

sports might be less likely than the population as a whole to take an active part in chapel in particular, since, for example, the main football club was based at the Barley Mow, and the quoits matches also were played at public houses. However 15 % of footballers and one quoits player were also Wesleyan. For these individuals involvement in the two were not incompatible, and neither activity acted as a barrier to the wider development of social networks. Neither does the evidence for the research community support the idea of clearly defined ' types ' in the community, who kept to separate activities in their leisure time, and for whom the social boundaries between associations were ' non porous '. (153) As many team sports players were active in church or chapel as chose to play another team sport, and more were religious than took up an individual sport. Such social barriers did not seem to have existed in the research community.

The organisers of team sports were as unlikely to also be organisers of church or chapel based activities, as to be organisers of a non sporting association, and there is only evidence that a quarter took part in any way at a place of worship. (154) It seems that for those most strongly committed to team sports, there was a greater separation of social networks than for organisers of other associations, whether by choice, or due to time limitations. However there was a greater overlap between the social networks of the organisers of the athletics club with those of organisers at places of worship. It was just as likely that the former supported religious activities (mostly at the Anglican church), as organised another sport - a quarter. Nearly half also belonged to the Choral Society. There does seem to be a particularly strong association between central figures in the athletics club, the parish church and the choral society that appears to be more than coincidental, and likely to be related to the strength of social links.

Neighbourhood : The number of members of the community identified with individual sporting associations is too small to show clustering by neighbourhood. However there is strong evidence indicating overlap between the social networks of team sporting associations, and neighbourhood.

This is especially true for football. The names of half of the teams indicate their affiliation with neighbourhood - Coalport Pride of the Village, Aqueduct Rovers, Cuckoo Oak Swifts or Madeley Town, for example. This pattern was confirmed by tracing the residence of the players. The Madeley Unity (Town) players lived within a mile or so of the centre, and the Coalport players lived mainly from the centre southwards.

Taking all the teams together, the majority of football players lived in a relatively restricted area of the community, around central Madeley. This pattern was particularly pronounced amongst the young and single players, between two thirds and three quarters of whom lived in just five streets. (155) It appears that a combination of factors, including having played with boys informally in the neighbourhood, and easy access to the clubhouse and ground contributed to the strong effect of neighbourhood upon football networks. It seems that the young men in these neighbourhoods did enjoy both the game, and each others' company, enough to wish to play more together in properly constituted teams. Overall, football and neighbourhood networks overlapped to a high degree for young men in central Madeley. (156)

Similarly, for quoits, there was a cluster of neighbours in Station Road who played for the Madeley Wood Club, so that although numbers were small, the evidence that is available does support the suggestion that social relationships between neighbours did affect the networks of many those participating in team sports, especially in football.

The evidence relating to cricket and neighbourhood networks is more limited - perhaps unsurprisingly, as there was just one club, and the total number of participants was smaller than the number of active footballers. Cricketers were drawn more evenly from different parts of the community, and overlap was limited to a number of small clusters of neighbours, of between two and four club members living within the same short streets. (157) It appears that relationships formed in the neighbourhood did sometimes

contribute to the extension of networks into team sporting associations - a pattern that was most strongly developed through football.

Kinship : The fact that a quarter (15) of all identified football players were closely related to each other, and shared the same household as at least one other football team player, suggests that kin had a strong effect upon social networks. Over two thirds of these related players were single brothers, and the remainder were fathers and sons. However related players did not always play for the same team. Often the younger brother played for the junior team - Madeley Old School Boys. The kinship connection may have encouraged the younger brother, or the son, to gain a place in this team (and in so doing widen his social network) through personal contact, or his brother acting as a ' door '. (158) There were other instances where brothers played for completely separate teams, in which case they may simply have shared an enjoyment of the sport, perhaps through having played together at home.

As has been shown for the extent of overlap between the social networks of the other team sports and neighbourhood, those with kin were similarly limited. In the case of cricket, only just over 10 % of players had a close relative also belonging to the club and only two identified quoits players were close relatives (of a total of just nine individuals).

(iii) Content of Networks

The numbers regularly spectating at sporting events give an indication of the extent to which members of the community expected to enjoy the occasion based upon previous experience. Thus the composition of networks, discussed above, indicates the value placed upon such events by spectators. It has been shown that large numbers regularly watched football, and that it is likely that broadly equivalent numbers attended the regatta and sports organised by the rowing and athletics clubs. (160) It seems inescapable that the popularity of, and commitment to, these occasions derived in large measure from

the pleasure of coming together, and enjoying the event socially. The degree of commitment was further demonstrated by the size of the crowds. Eight hundred watched the ' Men of Iron ' through bitter snowy conditions, and the attendance at the Madeley Athletic Sports was described as ' large ', despite weather conditions having been " as bad as possible. " (161)

The commitment of the participants, or players, is further demonstrated not only by the size of the social networks, but also the regularity with which individual team members played. The members of the football and cricket teams played in every game, almost without exception, with some individuals playing for more than one team. If they had not enjoyed each others' company, as well as the exercise itself, it is difficult to believe that there would have been such commitment.

A clearer indication of the atmosphere of games is given by the descriptors used in the press. A number of football games, particularly those between the more strongly supported neighbourhood teams, such as Madeley Unity and Coalport Pride of the Village, were described as " pleasant " games, which appears to mean that both the players and the spectators behaved in a friendly manner towards one another. Even matches between the bigger clubs could be very amicable, showing a degree of openness and positive approach in the social links between the communities. (162) For example the game in which Madeley's second football team lost 7 - 0 to a Broseley football team was described as " most pleasant. "

However, as matches became more competitive, less friendly behaviour was reported. It was suggested that Ironbridge's match against Shrewsbury, in the cup competition, would have been better " without the jumping, back-charging and pushing. " (163) Such behaviour applied also to some of the spectators. At Wolverhampton the crowd hooted and pelted the Ironbridge team to the dressing room, and one player was physically attacked. (164) At the more competitive cricket matches, too, the spectators were at

times described as " enthusiastic " and " very demonstrative ", especially between the " big two " teams of Madeley and Broseley. (164) There were complaints about the hoots and jeers from the Broseley supporters, and laughter at the injury of one of the Madeley team. (166)

It therefore seems that the most competitive matches had the effect of emphasising social division between the communities, and demonstrating a heightened awareness of ' us ' and ' them ', and closure of social boundaries. At the same time it showed that people did take a pride in their local team and community, and that the sporting associations did " flesh out a sense of place ", and contribute to " a sense of belonging " to the community, in other words emphasising the strength of social links within the community, and the extent to which it could be close-knit. (167) There is no evidence of such hostility, or internal social closure within the community at matches between neighhbourhood teams.

Another indication of the ways in which the social links between participants in the sports were perceived is the extent to which meetings or games became social occasions. It has been mentioned above that business meetings of the Madeley football club were better attended than those of the more successful Ironbridge club. This may not only have been because they were social occasions, in the more relaxed setting of the Barley Mow, but they may also have been held in The Barley Mow *because* the members wanted to have more opportunity to socialise together. For the quoits clubs, not only were business meetings held at a public house, but also the game itself, which often extended into a social evening, with songs and other entertainments. Clearly for these teams the social links were an important ingredient in the occasions, and were highly valued. The same applied to meetings of members of the individual sporting associations. Both the inaugural meeting and the smoking concert of the Cycling Club held at the White Hart Hotel were well attended, and " the large room was packed. " (168) The Rowing Club Ball, too, was said to have been " a grand success ", with dancing until 3.00. (169)

The names given to the teams give a further indication of attitudes towards the community as well as the overlap of sporting and neighbourhood social networks. Of the 21 football teams, as indicated above, half bore names associated with neighbourhoods within the community. This, of itself, suggests a positive indication of attachment to the local community or neighbourhood, as opposed to the public house, or place of work where many teams were based. The name ' Coalport Pride of the Village' further supports the view that local teams were indeed a source of pride in the community. These community-based names, along with the fact that only one team was associated with a place of work - Coalport Works - also suggest a lack of paternalism, and the importance of the initiatives of members of the community in the founding and successful running of these teams, which adds to the impression of relatively strong 'community spirit' amongst those involved. (170)

II Informal Social Networks

The everyday interpersonal contacts within the home, the neighbourhood, at places of work are major factors affecting individuals' perceptions of the community in which they live, and the social characteristics of that community. It is these interactions for which there is the least firm evidence in a historical context. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw meaningful conclusions from the evidence, and since this area is at the core of the nature of social networks, the available data will be interpreted sensitively.

The census data allow some analysis of social networks within the neighbourhood, in terms of the least intensive level of social links of spectators or acquaintances.
The composition and structure of social networks of two contrasting neighbourhoods within the community at each of two levels of the settlement hierarchy will be considered. These have been taken as samples, as within the constraint of length of this thesis, it is not possible to consider the entire community. The two smaller neighbourhoods are Blists Hill and Cuckoo Oak, and the two larger neighbourhoods are Aqueduct and two streets in the centre of Madeley.

The content of informal social networks will be considered on a whole community basis, as the available data, drawn largely from press reports and autobiographical sources are not generally specific to neighbourhoods. They are, nevertheless an essential part of any analysis of social networks, providing individual insights into the nature of those social links.

(i) Composition of Networks

(a) Network Size

Both Blists Hill and Cuckoo Oak, at equivalent levels in the hierarchy, are of very limited size, with between sixty and ninety people aged ten or over. These neighbourhoods are not large enough to support any shops, with just one inn or public house in the neighbourhood, or nearby, and no especially constructed places of worship. It might be expected that at this size, it was indeed possible for everyone to know everyone else, and for members of the neighbourhood to speak to each other frequently, resulting in a relatively close knit neighbourhood. (171)

Aqueduct and Central Madeley are significantly larger, with more than twice as many people over the age of ten. In each case it would therefore be more difficult for everyone to know everyone else so well, on the basis of size alone, but each contained many more possible venues for social contact - shops, beersellers, or places of worship, for example. This applied particularly to the High Street and Bridge Street, which served the whole research community. (172)

(b) Network Membership

Whilst mining is the dominant occupation in all the neighbourhoods, nowhere does it dominate more than at Blist's Hill, and in fact very nearly everyone in work there was employed by the Madeley Wood Company, and worked at the same site. By contrast, those working at Cuckoo Oak were more likely to have worked at one of a number of mines, and those employed in manufacturing worked both at the chinaworks in Coalport, and in tileworks, with a significant number employed in other occupations, particularly on the farms on which mining depended.

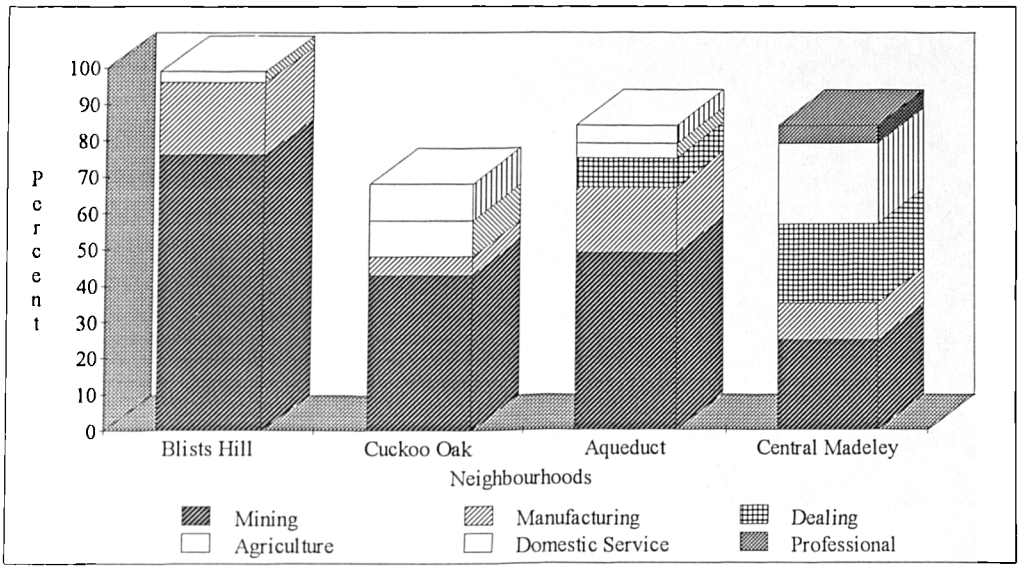


Chart 7.16 : Social Network Composition – Informal Networks (Occupation)

As in Blist's Hill, Aqueduct was dominated by a single employer, both in mines, and in ironworks, but being larger, a number of other occupations were also represented. And in High Street and Bridge Street, whilst mining was still the largest category (with a number of mines within walking distance), there were more supporting retail (if dealers and servants are taken together).

	Blist's Hill	Cuckoo Oak	Aqueduct	High St./ Bridge St.
M*	76	43	49	25
MF	20	5	18	10
T		3	5	8
D			8	22
IS	3	3	5	
PP				5
DS		10	5	22
AG	3	10	4	

Table 7.17 : Social Network Composition - Informal (Occupation by Neighbourhood, Percent) * For Occupational Categories, see Appendix One

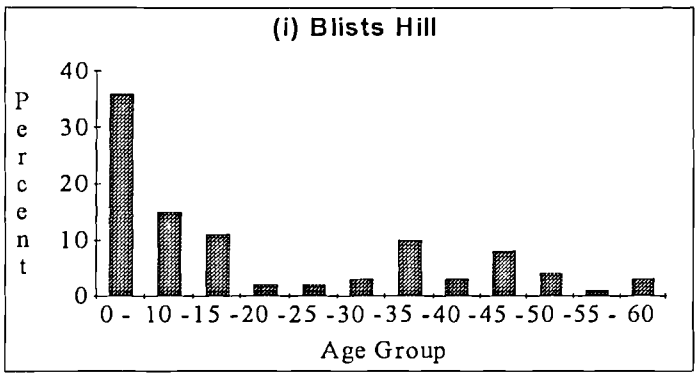
Blist's Hill conforms most clearly to the stereotype of a youthful mining community, with over half of the population being under the age of fifteen. This pattern may have had a number of social effects. For example, children may have had many peers with whom to

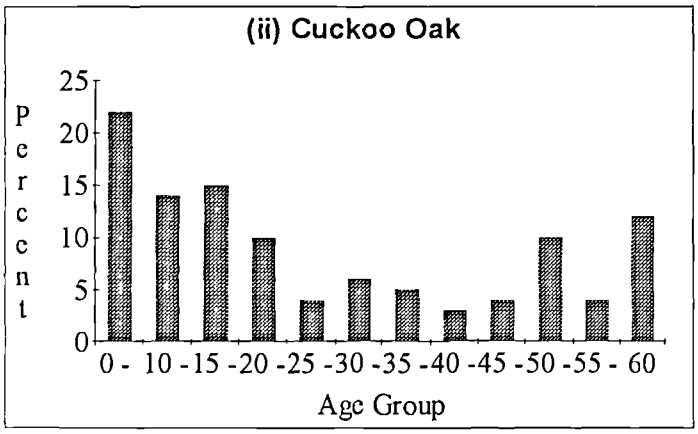
play, and develop strong social links, but at the same time, older children, and their mothers in particular, may have had less time themselves socially, with many young children to look after. (173)

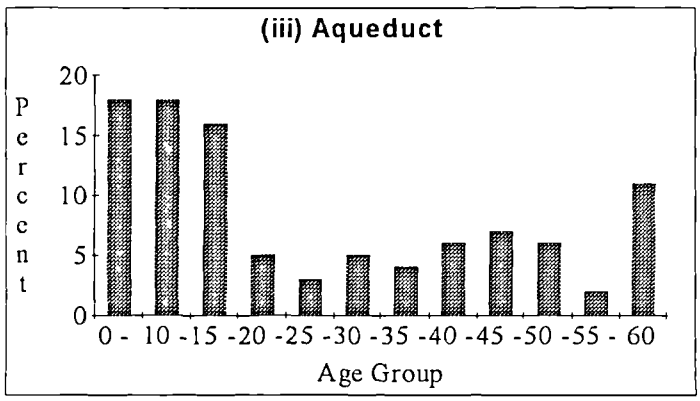
Age Group	Blists Hill	Cuckoo Oak	Aqueduct	High/Bridge St.
0 - 9	36	22	18	17
10 - 14	15	14	18	12
15 - 19	11	15	16	13
20 - 24	2	10	5	12
25 - 29	2	4	3	7
30 - 34	3	6	5	3
35 - 39	10	5	4	8
40 - 44	3	3	6	4
45 - 49	8	4	7	6
50 - 54	4	10	6	3
55 - 59	1	4	2	6
60 +	3	12	11	9

Table 7.18 : Social Network Composition - Informal (Age Structure by Neighbourhood, Percent)

The remaining three neighbourhoods show age structures that do not contrast significantly with each other. They are all youthful, with around a third of the population under the age of fifteen, but in all of them a fifth to a quarter of the population was over fifty, compared to just 8 % at Blists Hill. The older age groups in these neighbourhoods, especially those over sixty, may therefore have had more opportunity to have developed social ties with others at the same stage of life than the more elderly inhabitants of Blist's Hill, and as a result have perceived their neighbourhoods as close-knit in this respect.







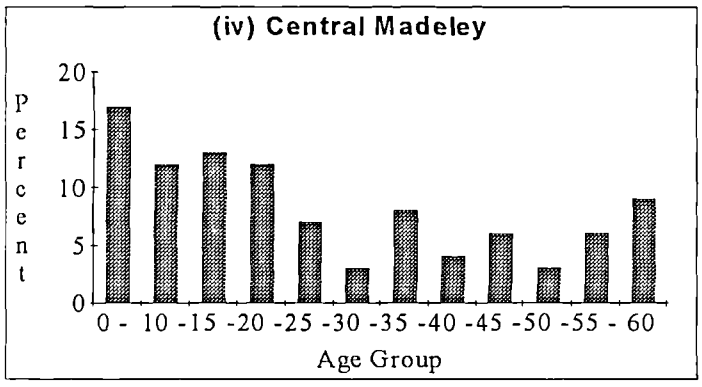


Chart 7.17 : Social Network Composition – Informal Networks (Age)

	Blist's Hill	Cuckoo Oak	Aqueduct	High/Bridge St.
Born Madeley	66	61	50	46
p	16	5	6	8
ped	11	6	13	12
p + ped	27	11	19	20

Table 7.19 : Social Network Composition - Informal (Persistence by Neighbourhood (percent))

p : persistent - living in the research community in 1881 and 1891
ped : living in the same Enumeration District in 1881 and 1891

In all neighbourhoods a high proportion of the population had been born in the parish. This was particularly so at Blist's Hill, where most of the population were children. A lower proportion - just under half - of the population of central Madeley were born in the parish, where a high proportion of more mobile domestic servants lived. (174) Most of the populations of three out of four of the neighbourhoods therefore had the opportunity to have maintained social ties within the parish over their lifetimes.

However, in all neighbourhoods, only a small proportion of those aged ten or over - under 15 % - had lived in the neighbourhood ten years previously, and in all apart from Blist's Hill an even lower proportion had lived elsewhere in the community in 1881. It seems likely that the pattern of persistence was strongly influenced by the occupational structure of each neighbourhood. Persistence in the community and neighbourhood were especially low at Cuckoo Oak, where more were employed in agriculture, or as farm servants. (175) However at Blist's Hill, whilst persistence in the neighbourhood was not exceptionally high, a much larger proportion had lived within the community ten years earlier. This is consistent with Brown's findings of the relative persistence locally of the employees of the Madeley Wood Company, a significant proportion of whom had moved northwards in the parish, as the older coal seams had become exhausted. (176) At Aqueduct, where most of the housing was tied, persistence within the neighbourhood was highest. (177)

As has been shown for the community as a whole, it is clear that in these neighbourhoods

there is not an overall pattern of continuous occupation, or the continuous local building of social ties at neighbourhood level, but the opportunity to do so was greatest in those neighbourhoods with the most housing tied to occupations linked to mining and iron working.

(ii) Structure of Networks

(a) Overlap

There is no evidence of overlap of neighbourhood networks with a sporting association at either Blist's Hill or Aqueduct, and only to a very limited extent at Cuckoo Oak (4 instances). Whilst friction of distance to club grounds may have been a factor, it would seem that the domination of mining and manufacturing as occupations may have been more important in determining participation, resulting from the difficulties posed by long hours of work and shift working, since some did manage to cross the parish from Cuckoo Oak to play sport. The evidence shows a much higher level of participation in sport by those living in central Madeley, and at an organisational level.

A similar picture emerges from the evidence on participation in the activities of places of worship. Far more individuals who lived in central Madeley helped to organise activities than took part in Aqueduct, and fewer still at Cuckoo Oak, with none at Blist's Hill. Whilst a greater range of places of worship were close at hand in central Madeley, it may equally have been that more people living in that neighbourhood had both the time, and the skills needed, to contribute to the social life of the community in that way.

At first glance it might appear likely that the social networks of work and neighbours overlapped to a significant extent at both Blist's Hill and Aqueduct, each dominated by a single employer at a single site. However, as discussed above, it by no means follows that those working for the same employer had the same occupation, worked in the same

location, or on the same shifts. The miners living at Cuckoo Oak probably worked at different mines. On the other hand, the significant number working in shops, or as servants in the same households in central Madeley were much more likely to have been working close to each other, at the same time, and many were also related to each other.

The evidence therefore suggests that work and kinship networks were more likely to have overlapped and been strengthened for those working in dealing in central Madeley, than for miners, ironworkers or tileworkers in the other neighbourhoods, even those where there was a single employer. It is also important to bear in mind that the majority of community members in all the neighbourhoods were not in full time paid employment. The majority, therefore, did not have the opportunity to develop social links made in the neighbourhood at work.

Overlap with kin networks was potentially important for everyone within the neighbourhood. There is evidence that at least half of the households at Blist's Hill contain individuals who are related to people in other households in the neighbourhood, most often through remarriage, or three generational links. (178) This strong overlap is not evident in the other neighbourhoods,even in Aqueduct, where the dominance of a single employer was almost as great. Although it may well have been commonplace for kin to try to find *employment and accommodation for each other, it was only possible* where either were available. (179) This analysis therefore shows that the evidence given in chapter six that neighbours were generally kin for around half of the community applied unevenly, varying from one neighbourhood to another.

Conclusion

There is variation by neighbourhood in the membership and structure of informal social networks at the level of acquaintances, but that these are not necessarily related to the size of the neighbourhood. As important may have been the occupations of those in full

time paid employment.

Blist's Hill could be described as close knit in that about three quarters of the population had been born in the parish, and as over half were children, many had probably known each other all their lives. Furthermore, nearly all those in full time paid employment worked at the same site, and for the same employer, so had much in common, even if they did not necessarily work together throughout the day. Added to this, people with whom there was day to day contact in the neighbourhood were very likely also to have been related, adding to the significance of kinship and neighbourhood links.

Similarly Aqueduct, although a larger neighbourhood, seems to have been relatively close-knit, having the highest rate of persistence within the same enumeration district, and an equivalent degree of overlap of work and neighbourhood social networks to Blist's Hill.

Central Madeley, of an equivalent size to Aqueduct, was also close-knit in that for those working in shops, there may have more opportunity for informal social interaction than there was for those working in different parts of a mine or tileworks, for example. And there was a demonstrably greater willingness not only to participate in, but also to organise associational activity.

But Cuckoo Oak, of a simliar size to Blist's Hill, was less close-knit, in that rates of persistence were low, and social networks overlapped only to a very limited extent, the most probable reason having been the greater dependance upon occupations related to farming.

(iii) Content of Networks

In chapter three it has been shown that the literature relating to nineteenth-century mining communities has identified a range of ways in which members of the community supported each other, but it has equally been recognised that the same communities could feel socially claustrophobic. And it has been recognised that arguments and fights occurred alongside frequent acts of kindness. Also noted alongside the solidarity and fraternity of mining communities was the reality that there generally were social divisions, both within the community, (such as as between women and men, between occupational groups, between those interested in sport or religion, or between groups within the mines), and between members of the community and outsiders.

The autobiographical transcripts relating to the research community include both positive and negative views of social relationships, although the latter predominate. On the positive side, it is claimed that everybody knew everybody, and beyond that, everyone was willing to help everyone - by implication altruistically, and without condition. (180) Although Fred Fidler particularly referred to there having been good *men* in those days, there was a greater range of references to women helping others, at times of illness, at childbirth and to lay out bodies. (181) The numerous ways in which children helped, especially within the family, have been discussed in chapter six. There is no reason to suppose that the views that

" Madeley was such a self supporting place, " and " particularly close-knit " were unusual, and they reflect the picture presented by the existing literature as characteristic of late nineteenth-century mining communities. (182)

There were frequent instances of individuals, too, who organised the provision of extra food for the poor, apparently altruistically. For example a publican arranged for the distribution of soup and bread for poor children during the coldest spell of winter, a concert was held in aid of blind pensioners, and a married woman promptly organised a

sheep roast on the frozen River Severn, for distribution to the poor. And it appears that there was no difficulty in raising funds for this purpose from the public in general, whilst also ensuring the inclusion of the whole community at special occasions. Two hundred and fifty widows and aged poor were provided with a meal at the marriage of Colonel Anstice, funded by local ' subscribers '. (183)

Furthermore, there is evidence of many contexts in which members of the community *chose* to spend time together, in which social links developed beyond acquaintanceship to the personal level. For children these included learning to swim in the river or canal, watching the molten iron being poured out at Blist's Hill after Sunday School, fishing, bird nesting, playing cards with the lads in the brewhouse, collecting berries or kicking a pig's bladder around. In the football games there is no evidence of social exclusion - it was " amongst anybody ", on Mr. Phillips' field. (184) For some men the contexts included keeping whippets, pigeon flying, dabbing, poaching with the same group of friends almost full time, or supporting the many public and beer houses. The rent of an allotment seems to have been much valued, especially by older men, and especially by miners, since the same tenants remained for years on end. (185) A few went to the Ironbridge Institute to play billiards. (186) All of these activities provided opportunities to develop social networks. Everyone seemed ready to grasp any opportunity for social activity that arose, such as skating on the river, walks, picnics, or joining one of the many fairs or trips that were organised. (187)

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that for many, social life in the research community was often difficult. Some members of the community recognised both the positive and negative aspects. Amy Newell, for example, linked the size and completeness of social networks with a positive perception of quality, noting that, " it was happy, of course - we knew everybody, " whilst also observing that, " we didn't get a lot of pleasure. " She appears to mean that the quality of social relationships was high, despite the infrequency of more superficial leisure time distractions, compared to later in her life. She recalled

how she had cried herself to sleep with loneliness when she went to work as a servant on a farm within the parish. (188) Despite Fred Fidler's view of the quality of relationships, he observed that " it was rough in those days, " and William Newill also said that, " I wouldn't go back to the old times for nothing. " (189) On occasions, life was so little valued that a common threat was claimed to have been that, " I'll throw myself down the pit. " (190)

There is a good deal of evidence of a lack of kindness and respect by individuals for each other, and often to the more vulnerable in the community. Children from the workhouse were bullied. (191) There were a number of prosecutions for obscene or abusive language, often between women and neighbours. (192) It is clear that there was distrust between neighbours, and frequent argument. Evans reports that he was not allowed to go into some streets because of arguments with neighbours, and that " there was hell to pay " if the brewhouse was not cleaned out before the neighbours came to use it. His impression was that neighbours argued and fell out, as they did everywhere else. (193)

Sometimes disputes went beyond the exchange of abusive language. There were instances of physical cruelty to animals and children, and it was reported that this was becoming more common towards the latter. (194) There were fights - between women in the workhouse, and between female neighbours. (195) Lads fought and threw stones. (196) Less frequently reported were fights between men, occasionally one to one, but more often in groups. Causes of the former included child custody and in a neighbouring parish, reaction to teasing of an individual on the poor performance of his football team. Fights occurred between Ranters at the Primitive Methodists, and on works days out. Arthur Lloyd's grandfather was proud of having knocked out a man with a single blow for having mocked the Bible on the Green at Madeley Wood. (197) While these incidents were clearly not typical of the behaviour of most members of the community since they came to court, there is a significant number reported for one community over a single year, and the social divisions that they illustrate need to be acknowledged as part of the

social life of the community. (198)

Above all other criteria, the extent of drunkenness has been a major contributor to the stereotype of mining communities as loose-knit. The view has been that miners were the epitome of irresponsibility and profligacy, spending their income on themselves and drink, rather than saving for the security of their families. They represented the very antithesis of a Communitarian society, placing the individual and self above kin or fellow members of the community. Whilst allowing that miners often enjoyed a drink, Benson has shown that across the country this did not mean that late nineteenth-century miners were irresponsible, and that they did save for their families. (199) Ensum has shown in one late nineteenth-century mining community that it was generally young single men who were prosecuted for drunkenness, rather than men with family responsibilities, and that there was no evidence that drunkenness led to crimes against the person, which would, indeed, have been an illustration of weak social links. (200) This pattern was repeated in the research community. Furthermore, the number of prosecutions was very small, and those prosecuted had a range of occupations. (201) Likewise, evidence of a lack of respect of others through theft is very limited. Those that were reported were linked to immediate needs (such as food or firewood), and were not perpetrated against the poorest, as was found earlier in the century in the West Midlands (202). There is therefore very little evidence that members of the research community demonstrated a negative valuing of social links through behaviour related to drunkenness or theft.

There is, therefore, evidence of both positive and negative perceptions of the quality of social links within the community. Arguments and fights occurred between neighbours alongside acts of kindness. The evidence of help given by women in particular, in the literature is confirmed, but there is additional evidence of hostility and social division between women and children, hitherto little recognised. However, the overall impression from all of the evidence of the content of social links in the community is that help was gladly given, when needed, and that much pleasure was taken in each others' company.

Given the choice between a day's pay, and a rare opportunity to enjoy skating, a fair, or a trip, for example, huge numbers chose the latter. Interpersonal relationships seem to have been valued well above material possessions. (203)

Conclusion

At the outset it was suggested that the larger the networks, the wider the range of those included in them, the more often they were renewed, the more the networks overlapped and the more valued were the social links, the more appropriate it was to describe the community as close-knit. Similarly, the more that these characteristics could be ascribed to the networks of those who actively participated in, or organised social associations, the more close-knit the community could be said to have been. Each of these attributes will therefore be considered in the light of the evidence relating to the associations and informal networks.

Composition of Networks

Spectators : The largest social events were those that were the most inclusive, and were organised by all kinds of association, such as the Madeley Athletic Sports, the camp meeting organised by the Primitive Methodists, or summer trips run by friendly societies.

Other occasional social events that were less inclusive were well attended by those who were able to. A very high proportion of children in the community took part in the Sunday Schools treat. A high proportion of men watched the Saturday football matches, and a high proportion of families who could afford to, joined the friendly society trip to Liverpool. There is strong evidence, then, that members of the community took every opportunity to strengthen their social links with others.

Of the regular association events, the best supported were again the most inclusive. A majority of community members - men, women and children, attended church, chapel or Sunday School, and the church was as vigorous as the chapels. The evidence indicates that the great majority of men belonged to friendly societies and a large minority watched football matches, but fewer usually watched cricket or quoits, or attended concerts.

Again, the evidence indicates that when they could, members of the community took the opportunity to come together in a context that was at least partially social. It is only by gender that there is concrete evidence of direct exclusion, in that women were not eligible to join the larger friendly societies.

Within the neighbourhoods selected for closer scrutiny, there does not seem to have been significant social segregration within informal social networks. Membership of these local communities was mixed by occupation and age, although influenced by the employment opportunities within a short distance.

Participants : The data that are available suggest that the highest level of active participation (in relation to those who could take part) in associational life in the community may have been in the friendly societies. (204) This would have had a particularly significant effect upon social networks of men, given the traditional emphasis upon the social function of the societies, hitherto given little attention in the context of mining communities. However numerically the largest networks of active participants were those linked to places of worship, which again were the most inclusive, and were likely to have been particularly significant for women and children, who had little alternative. Although many men played for recognised football teams in the community, and the clubs were apparently thriving, their numbers were small in relation to the community as a whole, as they were to a greater degree for other sports and associations.

Close to 10 % of the total number of community members were identified as having been active participants in associations. (205) It would therefore be an exaggeration to say that associational life, let alone that centred upon the chapel, dominated the social lives of most people in the community. However since nearer to 20 % of those who could have participated did so, the social opportunities presented by associations were important for a significant minority. The data suggest a readiness to participate as much as possible in

those activities that were the most sociable in nature, and to take part in social events when it was possible to do so. It therefore seems that it would be accurate to describe the community as relatively close-knit in this respect.

There was some social division by occupation between associations, particularly at places of worship, but the social boundaries were not rigid, and there was a good deal of ' porosity '. Some occupational groups were relatively well represented in some associations, but there was no evidence of direct exclusion, even if this was effectively the case, due to lack of time or income. Similarly there was some differentiation by age, but the most probable explanation appears to have been the nature of the sport or activity, rather than positive exclusion. Again, closer scrutiny of the data indicates a relatively close-knit community, which is contrary to the conclusion that could have been reached on a more superficial examination of the data.

Organisers : Although the total number of organisers was inevitably smaller than the number of participants in associations, there was no shortage of individuals (ninety two in total) willing to give of their time and skills in order to provide these sociable opportunities for the community. There seems to have been no exclusion by age or occupation, with a range of people actively involved in this way. And for most associations a high proportion - a quarter or more - of active participants were also organisers, and the largest number of organisers were identified for the largest associations - the friendly societies, the Wesleyan chapel and the football clubs. Since these organising groups were strong, and relatively large (amounting to nearly 10 % of the adult male population, and a third of all those identified as participants), the community could again be described as more close-knit than not.

Structure of Networks

Spectators : It is clear that there was a high degree of overlap between the social events organised by associations that were the most inclusive, since the numbers reported as having attended show that most in the community attended. These events were important socially because of the opportunity that they provided for everyone to strengthen and extend social links, particularly those who had few other similar opportunities, such as women, children, and young men and women or families together.

The opportunity for social networks to overlap was particularly great for those attending church or chapel, with those of neighbourhood, as well as with those of other associations. This applied especially to men, whose networks could also overlap with those of workmates, members of friendly societies, or as spectators at team sports.

The frequency with which networks could be strengthened was also greatest at church or chapel - throughout the year, and every week. Friendly societies also met regularly throughout the year (although usually on a fortnightly or monthly basis), whereas watching team sports could be enjoyed at least weekly, although only for part of the year. Friendly society meetings therefore potentially had more effect upon social networks than did spectating team sports, since contacts could be renewed throughout the year.

Participants : Over half of all participants in associations took part in the activities of one association only. Those active in church or chapel were these least likely to have extended their social networks through participation in other associations. This evidence could be interpreted as an affirmation of assertions in the literature of two almost mutually exclusive ' types ' in mining communities - those committed to places of worship, and those committed to enjoyment through sport or socialising in the public house. Whilst there is a clear pattern, it may well have been that only a very few had

enough non-work time to commit to one activity, rather than any lack of desire to mix socially. Furthermore, for women and children, there was little other opportunity available.

Those who had the most extensive social networks in associations were those who played team sports, a fifth of whom were active in three or four different associations. Almost another quarter were active in associations not connected to sport, so continued to meet socially throughout the year. This significant number of men therefore potentially experienced a close-knit community, with densely overlapping, and frequently renewed social links, within social networks that centred upon sporting associations.

Organisers : It was the organisers who had the most opportunity to develop social links through associations, not only by attending most meetings, but by attending others locally, and in the region, to organise events. It was these individuals who were able to have the " densest " network, through frequent contact. And over half of these individuals also had extensive networks, either participating in, or more often organising another activity. Again this was particularly the case for the organisers of sports, and applied least to the organisers of religion.

Content of Networks

It has been shown that coming together and developing and extending social networks was highly valued in the community. Very large numbers of people came together on social occasions which were local and inclusive - the regatta, the camp meeting, the athletic sports, or the Sunday School treat, for example.

People were prepared to invest a great deal, either financially or in time. Members of friendly societies acquired the full regalia. People saved for annual outings. Hundreds, if

not thousands, gave up pay in order to attend key cricket matches or the Wenlock Games for example, mid week. Summer outings, whether near or far, started early in the morning, returning near midnight. The Sunday School treat likewise started early, and continued right through the day until nine o'clock at night. Balls and dances rarely finished before three in the morning. People stayed together to enjoy each others' company when they could - children played together in the afternoon after Sunday School, and men went to the public house after church. The best supported clubs and events were those in which there was the greatest opportunity for social interaction at public houses. And the associations led by the reportedly most popular leaders were also the best supported. (206)

Descriptions of occasions and events found in autobiographical evidence also present the impression of social occasions being enjoyed with great enthusiasm and appreciation. Although there was serious rivalry and competitiveness between the supporters of football and cricket teams at crucial matches, there is no evidence that this soured relationships within the community over the year. There were reports of serious arguments and even cruelty, but many more of help and support readily given. Overall, perceptions of social relationships seem to have been positive, placing the community nearer the close knit end of the spectrum, than the reverse.

Notes and References

1. B. Trinder, The Industrial, p. 176.
2. Figures available give a total of 2,280 attending places of worship within the community during the period 1880 to 1891 (see table 7.1). Added to this figure should be added Catholics, for whom no figure is available (although an estimate of 200 is reasonable, given the stated capacity of the church), and also those attending Anglican meeting places in homes, for example at Blist's Hill, and places of worship on the margins of the research area at Coalport and Madeley Wood (see table below). However balancing these additions, an allowance should be made for those attending a place of worship within the community, but living outside it. This is especially likely to have included a number attending the Baptist, Congregational and Catholic churches, which were less numerous in the area. Of a population aged 10 and above in 1891 of approximately 2,900 in the research community, four fifths of community members attending a place of worship therefore seems to be as accurate an estimate as possible.

	Hearers	Members	Sunday School attendance
Coalport			
Wesleyan chapel	150 (i)	5 (ii)	46 (iii)
Primitive Methodist	n.d.	20 (iv)	n.d.
Anglican meeting place	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Madeley Wood			
Wesleyan chapel	650 (i)	47 (ii)	n.d.
New Connexion	250	n.d.	n.d.

(i) J. Randall, op. cit., pp. 166 - 172
(ii) SRO 2533/15
(iii) SRO 2533/33
(iv) SRO 4444/2/1
n.d. no data

Size of networks at places of worship on the margins of the research community

3. R. Moore, Pitmen, p. 54.
4. Owen, T 47.
5. Evans, T 3.
6. Fidler, transcript 2.
7. Owen, T 47 and Evans, T 3.
8. At the Sunday School festival 2,000 scholars and teachers of the Sunday Schools marched through Madeley; since the population of the research community was just over half of the total for the parish, around a thousand scholars within the community seems a reasonable estimate. Wellington Journal, 24.7.1891.
9. Evans, Childhood .
10. Lloyd, T 42; Preece, T 18 and Reynolds, R 34.

11. J. Benson, British, p. 167. The fact that the church day and Sunday School occupied one whole field for games, during the festival of all Sunday Schools in the parish, whilst all the other Sunday Schools together occupied another, further suggests that the numbers attached to the parish church were roughly equal to those attached to all the other places of worship. Wellington Journal, 25.7.1891.
12. Wellington Journal, 28.2; 10.10; 4.4; 20.3; 3.10.1891.
13. D. Massey, " The Conceptualisation of Space ", in D. Massey and P. Jess (eds.), A Place, pp. 67 and 74. Massey argues for a recognition of places as open and porous, whose identity is the product of links with other places, and is based upon differentiation from others, but not necessarily in the form of opposition. She argues against a ' geography of rejection ', based on a bounded and closed notion of identity, and for the ' geography of acceptance ' identified by Iris Murdoch Young, which is based upon a notion of identity that is open and interactive and more welcoming.
14. J. Benson, British, p. 169.
15. G.M. Wilson, " The Miners ".
16. Lloyd, T 34.
17. Ten came to the Science class, four of whom were student teachers, three female, three in their late teens. None were Wesleyan trustees or leaders, and some were not Wesleyan. Wellington Journal 18.7.1891; SRO NM 2533/95. Four women are named as having organised the sewing group tea, none of whom attended the science class. Two were wives of Wesleyan leaders, and one was the wife of the chapel secretary and Sunday School superintendant. Wellington Journal 7.11.1891. The Drawing and Geology lessons, started in 1892, had 12 people on the course, but only one to three attending any one class ; see SRO NM 2533/95.
18. G.C. Baugh, " Madeley ", in C.R. Elrington (ed.), Victoria, Vol. XI, p. 62.
19. SRO NM3027/8/2; at least 124 individuals bought books during 1891.
20. SRO NM 2533/33 Wesleyan Methodist Circuit Education Schedule Book - Sunday School.
21. Organisers in this context included preachers, stewards, treasurers, prayer leaders, or were people who served on committees.
22. See Table 7.1.
23. Evans, T 3.
24. Using the data derived from individuals positively identified from primary sources and matched against the 1891 census.
25. H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p. 192, also provide oral evidence showing an association between mine managers and the Wesleyan chapel.
26. Preece, T 18.
27. Numbers identified for the Congregationalists , Baptists and Methodist New Connexion were too small to make meaningful comment; no data are available for Catholics.
28. R. Heighway, T 13, for example, comments on ' getting dressed up ' even for Thursday evening services at the Lloyds. W. Foley, A Child, p. 36, notes that people from the less well off end of the village did not attend chapel, as " all too often they had no clothes good enough."

29. These data are particularly affected by the nature of the surviving evidence, and the records that were kept, especially the meticulous recording of all children attending the Sunday School by the Wesleyans, who comprised half of that group. They serve to demonstrate that it is likely that the figures for this category for the other denominations is a minimum proportion.
30. They served as leaders, Sunday School Superintendents, Chapel Secretaries, Stewards, or on the Finance Committee; see SRO 2533/5; 2533/14; 2533/17; NM2533/95; 2533/103; MM 98.7.
31. Employees at the chinaworks were also unrepresented, even though they were active in other associations. This may have been due to the fact that the chinaworks lay just outside the research area, in Coalport, where there were alternative chapels or meeting places.
32. R. Moore, Pitmen, p. 74.
33. M. Evans, Childhood; Reynolds, R 34; Preece, T 18; Lloyd, T 42.
34. SRO MM97.8vf, NM 2533/5, NM2533/14, NM 2533/95, NM2533/103.
35. These included annual public tea meetings, fetes, sales of work or entertainments. Wellington Journal, 10.10; 28.2; 3.10; 4.4; 20.3.1891.
36. Wellington Journal, 13.2.; 25.7.; 28.8.; 5.9.1891.
37. Wellington Journal, John Benbow 10.10.; 3.11.1891; Miss Johnson, 28.2.1891. Other instances of interdenominational help were - Theophilus Trevor, a Wesleyan leader, who played the harmonium or organ for various Wesleyan events both at Coalport and at Madeley Wood, and for the Young Men's Christian Association, Lloyd, T 34; Wellington Journal, 4.4; 5.9; 12.9; 19.9; 12.12.1891; Lloyd also commented that Mr. Trevor's services were very much in demand in the community. Michael Wylde, played the harmonium or the organ both for the Primitive Methodists and the Methodist New Connexion , Wellington Journal, 4.7; 25.7; 10.10.1891. Hercules Thomas, the headteacher of the Wesleyan Sunday School, sang at an entertainment for the Congregationalists. Kate and Nellie Roberts, daughters of the headteacher of the Church Day School, helped not only at a sale of work in aid of the Church Missionary Society, but also with decorating the Wesleyan church at Coalport for thanksgiving, Wellington Journal, 21.3; 24.7.1891. Arthur Lloyd describes how his uncle's fine singing voice was much in demand at " the churches in the district " at harvest festivals, in Shropshire Magazine.
38. Wellington Journal, 19.12.1891; 20.6.1891.
39. Lloyd, T 34.
40. Wellington Journal, 9.5.1891.
41. Wellington Journal, 25.7.1891.
42. R. Moore, Pitmen, p. 152 and L. Moran, The History, p. 92.
43. W. Foley, A Child, pp. 15 and 37, and J. Benson, British, p. 169.
44. See, for example, Wellington Journal 4.4.1891 - Aqueduct Sunday School or 2.5.1891 - a Wesleyan entertainment.

45. Eight out ten one-parent kinship links. However, it needs to be borne in mind that those identified in the data are participants. There is no statistical evidence to show the extent to which women attended, rather than participated in, church or chapel events. Foley, op. cit., p. 36 observes that it was women from the better off end of the village, with ' a sprinkling ' of men who attended chapel, could also apply to the research community, and still be consistent with the analysed data.
46. Owen, T 47.
47. W. Foley, A Child, p. 36. Evans, at the turn of the century in neighbouring Oakengates was told that if he wanted a job at the Co-op he should go to the Primitive Methodists, if he wanted a house he should go to the Wesleyans, and if he wanted credit he should go to the United Methodists T 3.
48. Evans, T 3.
49. M. Evans, Childhood.
50. Lloyd, T 34.
51. A tea meeting and entertainment at the Congregational church was given to a " large and appreciative audience", Wellington Journal, 21.2.1891. The examination of the scholars at the Aqueduct Sunday School was " enjoyed by the parents present ", Wellington Journal, 4.4.1891. An entertainment by the scholars of the Wesleyan Day School was " a great success ", and the large room was packed , Wellington Journal, 2.5.1891.
52. Wellington Journal, 28.8.1891; 8.8.1891; 5.9.1891.
53. Wellington Journal, 2.5.1891; 21.11.1891.
54. Wellington Journal, 25.7.1891.
55. J. Randall, History, pp 355 - 8.
56. Also within the parish, but not the community were " the palatial looking " Literary and Scientific Institute at Coalbrookdale, built in 1853 by the Coalbrookdale Company " for the benefit of the workmen ", and a Literary and Artistic Institute at Coalport, built in 1856, associated with the Chinaworks, both of which were *accessible by foot for* members of the community - see J. Randall, History, p. 273 and G.C. Baugh, " Madeley ", in Victoria, p. 33; Kelly's, 1895, p.131; Wellington Journal, 3.11; 7.3; 3.1; 7.3.1891.
57. These concerts were usually held in the Market Square at Ironbridge, but sometimes the band played at short notice, for example for the crowd waiting for the result of a football final, and on another occasion for everyone to dance to on the Severn, when it froze.
58. The numbers attending fairs and fetes are discussed later, under ' Sporting Assocations '.
59. Wellington Journal, 26.12.1891; Shrewsbury Chronicle, 1.5.1891.
60. J. Randall, History, pp. 199, 355 - 358; Randall also refers to the ' Coalport Pitcher ' at the chinaworks, just outside the community, but where many worked; Annual Directory, Ancient Order of Foresters; the Primitive Methodists Itinerant Ministers' Friendly Society is referred to in Wellington Journal, 9.5.1891, but clearly this society had a brief largely outside the community.

61. Randall calculated that there were 2,985 members of friendly societies in the whole parish of Madeley. If the numbers of those belonging to societies meeting in Ironbridge, and based in the Coalbrookdale Works, outside the community are excluded, and it is assumed that the Madeley Wood Company friendly society was as large as that at Madeley Court, this gives a probable membership of around 1,500 in the research community. This figure is also consistent with the fact that the total population of the research community was about half that of the whole parish.
62. Only two references to women in friendly societies in Madeley have been found in the press; furthermore, in the Ancient Order of Foresters women were only admitted from 1892 , A. Fisk, Grandfather, p. 7. See also P. Thane, The Foundations,p. 29, and E. Hopkins, Working-class, p. 54 for evidence that the poorest could not afford to belong, and chapter three above.
63. J. Benson, British, p. 185. This evidence indicates that in the research community membership of friendly societies was closer to Professor Thompson's estimate of 75 % of the adult male population in the 1870's, than to that of Professor Gilbert, of 50 % near the end of the century. - see E. Hopkins, Working-class, p. 60.
64. P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly, p. 115.
65. Wellington Journal, 1.8.1891.
66. Foresters' Miscellany, 1899.
67. Wellington Journal, 1.8.1891.
68. See E. Hopkins, Working-class, p. 60 and P. Thane, The Foundation, p. 29.
69. Wellington Journal, 15.8.1891.
70. P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly, p. 115.
71. J. Benson, op. cit., p. 186. Benson's finding that miners in South Wales did indeed attend benefit clubs after they had been paid suggests that it is more likely than not that friendly societies linked to places of work did perform a social function.
72. Wellington Journal, 14.2; 9.5; 13.6.1891.
73. P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly, pp.121 and 136.
74. Wellington Journal, 17.10; 26.12.1891; Shrewsbury Chronicle, 1.5.1891. At one concert organised by a member of the society, it was recommended that carriages should be ordered for 10.15 p.m. - clearly it was expected that most of those attending did possess a carriage.
75. However, the data identifying active members of friendly societies indicate that this view may be in need of some modification, which is discussed below, under ' participants '.
76. Applications to High Court of the Ancient Order of Foresters for relief from Court 4345, Madeley. Personal communication from A. Fisk, Ancient Order of Foresters, Southampton, 5.2.1998.
77. Wellington Journal, 15.8.1891; personal commmunication, A. Fisk.
78. A women's friendly society was reported in the neighbouring parish of Dawley, Wellington Journal, 28.8.1891.
79. A. Fisk, Grandfather, p. 7.

80. The society included William Anstice, of the land and company owning family, of no stated occupation, the doctor's wife, the chemist, two miners and a mechanical engineer, who lived at the Lloyds, where much of the housing was owned by the Madeley Wood Company, so most probably was also involved in mining. In fact neither of the miners sang - one was the conductor, and the other the accompanist.
81. J. Benson, British, p.154, noted that first aid classes opened throughout the colliery districts during the 1880's and 1890's.
82. P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly, p. 121.
83. Wellington Journal, 2.5; 26.12.1891; Shrewsbury Chronicle, 1.5; 5.12.1891.
84. A concert for the cricket club in early May was described as " late in the season ", Shrewsbury Chronicle, 8.5.1891, and there were no other concerts until late September, Wellington Journal, 19.9.1891. Reference was found to only three concerts in total.
85. Some, such as the ladies' art class, met twice a week, Wellington Journal, 3.1.1891.
86. A. Fisk, personal communication. Of 6 claims made to Court 4345 by miners, 5 were by men who had belonged to the Ancient Order of Foresters for over 30 years.
87. Wellington Journal, 15.8.1891.
88. P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly, p.129.
89. Thomas Humphries and William Small were both actively involved in the Foresters, whereas Edwin Patten and Henry Ray, also neighbours, were both active in the Oddfellows, as were John Wylde and Harry Hancock, who were not only neighbours, but also played quoits together.
90. One helped to run the quoits team, and another played. Another helped to organise the football club, and a further two were active Wesleyans.
91. Wellington Journal, 17.11; 7.10.1891.
92. Wellington Journal, 8.5.1891.
93. Wellington Journal, 7.3.1891.
94. Wellington Journal, 1.8.1891.
95. Wellington Journal, 28.7.1891.
96. P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly, p. 136.
97. Wellington Journal, 6.6.1891.
98. Foresters' Review, 1873; A. Fisk, personal communication, op. cit..
99. Foresters' Miscellany, 1899.
100. The club's ground was Hilltop, within the research community. It competed in the Shropshire and District League, and in the Birmingham and Shropshire Cups.
101. Its name changed to Madeley Town during 1891.
102. Teams playing regularly included Madeley Swifts, and Madeley Old School Boys, and much of the team of Coalport Pride of the Village lived within the community. The teams that received occasional mentions in the press included Cuckoo Oak Swifts, Aqueduct Rovers, Madeley Rovers, Coalport Works, and Madeley School.
103. The cricket club was founded in 1855, see - Madeley (Salop) Cricket.
104. Wellington Journal, 9.5; 16.5.1891.

105. Special trains were run for spectators from Madeley, and it would seem reasonable to estimate that at least half of the spectators at most matches supported Ironbridge. As the population of the research community was approximately half of that of the parish as a whole, it would seem likely that less than a quarter of the spectators came from the research community - no more than 500, a sixth of the community's population, and if primarily male, around a third of men in the community.
106. Shrewsbury Chronicle, 7.8.1891.
107. Wellington Journal, 26.12.1891.
108. Shrewsbury Chronicle, 19.6.1891.
109. Wellington Journal, 21.3.1891.
110. R. Holt, Sport, p. 179, having noted this, concludes that there were few concessions to the working class.
111. Madeley (Salop) Cricket.
112. Shrewsbury Chronicle, 10.7.1891.
113. C. Birch, " The Leisure ", p. 51.
114. D. Potter, The Changing, p. 23.
115. The Anstice family owned the Madeley Wood Company, the oldest mining and iron making company in the parish, and one of the two principal employers. See, for example, I.J. Brown, Shropshire Magazine, p. 29.
116. Mr. Owen, R 32. Eaton, Madeley, p. 57, notes the reputation that the All Nations public house at Blist's Hill had, where international matches were played, and one member was England champion. It is not clear, however, the date to which he refers, but since the book is a compilation of old photographs, it seems likely to have been early in the twentieth century. However it is possible that there was an informal quoits club in 1891, unreported in the press.
117. The only team sport for which such an event was reported was the cricket club. It was held at the Anstice Memorial Institute and was enjoyed by a " very large company, " Wellington Journal, 16.5.1891. It was perhaps because cricket was the longer established sport, supported by more middle aged members of the community, that it was the only team sports club that tried to raise funds by this means, although even the Ironbridge Football Club, the most successful in the county, was said to have suffered a poor year financially. The cycling club also organised a concert, Shrewsbury Chronicle, 4.12.1891, and the Rowing Club Annual Ball was open to all Wellington Journal, 4.12.1891.
118. The Rowing Club Ball, for example, held at the Anstice Memorial Institute in the centre of Madeley, attracted many from nearby parishes, with 35 from Madeley itself, of whom two thirds could be identified as living within the research community.
119. The regatta, for example, was clearly intended as an entertainment for all, with jugglers, Punch and Judy, " two funny blacks " and a Japanese troupe performing by day, in addition to the races on the river, and dancing and fireworks at night, Wellington Journal, 4.7.1891. In neighbouring towns there were also regattas at Bridgnorth, Bewdley and Shrewsbury, and an Athletic Sports at Shifnal and Broseley, not to mention the famous Wenlock Olympic Sports, Shrewsbury Chronicle, 16.5; 17.7; 24.7; 7.8.1891; Wellington Journal, 4.7.1891.

120. Wellington Journal, 4.4; 16.5.1891.
121. This is based upon an estimate that at least a half of those attending came from the parish in which the sports were being held, with no more than a third of the remainder having come from single neighbouring parishes. Since the population of the research community was approximately a half that of the parish, this would give an estimate of around 250 from the research community attending the Shifnal or Wenlock sports.
122. Since the Ironbridge Regatta was " recognised as one of the institutions of the county," Wellington Journal, 22.8.1891, it also seems reasonable to estimate that attendance was of an equivalent order to the days at Shifnal and Wenlock - between three and four thousand. If a similar calculation is made for this event, assuming at least a half of those attending came from the hosting parish, and a half of those came from the research community, then 750 or more probably attended from the research community itself - about a quarter of the total population over the age of ten. For the Madeley Athletic Sports it is only reported that there was a "large attendance ", but since an equivalent event was running at nearby Broseley on the same day, the weather was very poor, and there were fewer entertainments than at the Regatta, it is probable that this attendance was largely drawn from the parish, and was of a similar size as far as the research community was concerned.
123. B. Trinder, The Industrial, pp. 198 and 209 describes these days in the mid-nineteenth century on the East Shropshire Coalfield.
124. D. Potter, The Changing, p. 23.
125. Press reports give the names of those playing in each of the matches reported, so it is possible to be confident of the numbers involved for those who participated in the sports for established teams, although the number of those who played casually remains unknown.
126. The proportion is comparable to the figure of a sixth of men aged 14 to 44 in late nineteenth-century Stirling, who belonged to a football club. See R. Holt, Sport, p. 154.
127. 62 individuals in the community were identified as football players, 29 as cricket players, and 9 as members of a quoits team. In fact it is likely that more men played football (for a named team, at least) than were identified, since 21 different teams were named over the year, although not all players were listed, (which did not apply to the other two team sports) and some played for more than one team, from time to time.
128. However, it is likely that a larger number than this may have taken part in athletics club meetings. Since there was a charge for entering races at the sports, there was little incentive to do so, unless individuals were confident of winning the prize money, and none of the races had more than a handful of entrants.
129. Wellington Journal, 18.4.1891 and 4.7.1891.
130. Wellington Journal, 21.2.1891 and 23.5.1891.
131. Wellington Journal, 20.6.1891; Shrewsbury Chronicle, 19.6.1891.
132. 17 men organised the cricket club - Wellington Journal, 21.2.1891.
133. From within the research community, 14 helped to organise football teams, 9 helped to organise the cricket cl;ub, and 4 the quoits club.
134. Wellington Journal, 22.8.1891.

135. Wellington Journal, 4.12.1891.
136. Wellington Journal, 16.5.1891.
137. Wellington Journal, 17.1.1891.
138. R. Holt, Sport, p. 159 suggests that miners were probably keener than any other occupational group on football, although does not cite specific data on players; N. Emery, The Coalminers, p. 174, also observes in general terms that football was always important in Durham; J. Benson, Miners, p. 163, too, states generally that football and cricket took " a leading role ".
139. R. Holt, Sport, p. 154, refers to research in Scotland, that showed in the late nineteenth century a half of cricketers, and nearly three quarters of footballers in skilled or semi-skilled occupations. The equivalent figure is roughly four fifths in the research community, a higher proportion. However, caution is needed in interpreting such a statistic, since it is dependant on the occupation structure of the area researched.
140. J. Benson, The Rise, p. 132, notes that whilst some research has indicated that audiences to cricket matches were often upper or middle class, the majority of players were working class.
141 Most of the entrants for Madeley Athletic Sports were still at school. None of the entrants in employment were miners, and two of the boys' father was a miner. For the members of the Cycling Club, the cost of acquiring a bicycle does not appear to have been prohibitive, as the young men included a grocer's assistant and a stone miner, for example. The young man who took part in rowing was a printer, working with his father in the Post Office. See Shrewsbury Chronicle, 8.5; 26.6; 7.8.1891.
142.The same seems to have applied to football - both Henry Roberts and Hercules Thomas actively supported the football clubs, and the name of the junior football team makes explicit the link to school : Madeley Old School Boys. See Wellington Journal, 5.12.1891 for a report of the Cycling Club smoking concert.
143. One was a grocer's assistant, living in the shop, away from his family in Dawley. Another lived alone with his very elderly widowed father, and the third lived with his sister. See Wellington Journal, 5.12.1891. One was a grocer's assistant, living in the shop, away from his family in Dawley. Another lived alone with his very elderly widowed father, and the third lived with his sister.
144. Even William Anstice, of the family part owning the Madeley Wood Company, the biggest employer in the parish, and was on the committee of the more prestigious Ironbridge Football Club, apparently showing no interest in the very successful Madeley teams.
145. The organisers of the Sports were entirely men, apart from the schoolteacher's daughter. Again, the impression given is not that women were excluded, or that it was even frowned upon for women to organise the Sports, but that they were not in a position to do so.
146. It seems reasonable to assume that the players met more often than for the matches alone, to practice or train for example, whilst the organisers are likely to have held business meetings beyond that.
147. The quoits season extended a month longer into the autumn than that of cricket.

148. However, it is unlikely that spectators could watch mid week matches on a regular basis, or support all away matches, as the teams in the Shropshire cricket league were more widely dispersed across the county than were the teams in the football league. There were probably therefore less frequent opportunities for spectators to develop social networks at cricket matches, than at football matches.

149. There clearly was a regular and loyal number of the community who supported the teams. In November, for example, the crowd watching Madeley Town was said to have been " above average, as there was no game at Hilltop " - see Wellington Journal, 28.11.1891. Clearly there *was* an " average ", or regular, attendance.

150. It would not be surprising if individuals who particularly enjoyed participating in one team sport also enjoyed another, especially as they were largely played at different times of the year. However another factor affecting participation in a number of sports was available time. Only the stone miner, Henry Wilkes, found time for athletics, cycling, football and cricket. And of the fourteen individuals identified as having participated in an individual sport, only Henry Wilkes, and another young and single man, Martin Randall, found time for two individual sports.

151. This applied to five individuals, out of twenty six who were identified as organisers of team sports. They included W.G. Dyas, who was a very keen and able sportsman, having played cricket both for Shropshire, as well as Madeley, and was on the club's committee. He was also acting treasurer for Madeley Unity Football Club, only at the age of 18. As a maltster it is likely that he had some control and flexibility over his use of time. Another was William Anstice, whose family owned the Madeley Wood Company, who seems to have rarely attended functions of the clubs. A third was a chartermaster, and the remaining two were the energetic (" indefatigable ") schoolmasters.

152. Only one individual was traced as active as an organiser of both a sporting association and a friendly society.

153. See, for example, R. Moore, Pitmen, p.131, 156, and H. Beynon and T. Austrin, Masters, p.81. The latter refer to three ' types ' in mining communities - those who mainly drank, those who mainly played sport, and those whose lives centred upon places of worship.

154. Of 22 organisers of team sports, just two were committed Wesleyans, and a further four were identified as participating in church or chapel based activities.

155. Most of the 15 and 16 year olds played for Madeley Old School Boys, and threequarters of the team lived in two short streets, Russells Road and Church St..

156. Of course it does not mean that these social links were always viewed positively. During 1891 one of the young men in the group of footballers living closest to each other and playing for the same team, was charged with assault by the younger brother of one of his co-footballers - Shrewsbury Chronicle, 28.8.1891.

157. The clusters of cricketers comprised 4 in Shooting Butt Lane, 3 in Russells Road, 2 in Mellor's Row, 3 in Park Street and 4 in Church Street.

158. See M. Young and P. Wilmott, Family, for evidence of this effect in twentieth century East London.
159. Two brothers, and a father and son played for the cricket team, and only two identified quoits players were close relatives of a total of just nine individuals. Exceptionally, the latter were mother and son, which was the only evidence found of a female relative sharing a sports based social network.
160. It was estimated above that up to a quarter of the community were likely to have watched football matches every Saturday - probably nearly a half of all men, and that similar numbers - about 800 - attended local fairs, regattas and sports.
161. Wellington Journal, 7.8.1891 amd 26.12.1891.
162. For example the game in which Madeley's second football team lost 7 - 0 to a Broseley football team was described as " most pleasant ".
163. Wellington Journal, 14.3.1891.
164. Wellington Journal, 28.3.1891.
165. Shrewsbury Chronicle, 22.8.1891.
166. Wellington Journal, 22.8.1891.
167. See J. Benson, British, pp. 164 - 165 and R. Holt, Sport, pp. 153, 166 - 8.
168. Wellington Journal, 26.6 and 5.12.1891.
169. Wellington Journal, 17.1.1891.
170. See R. Holt, Sport, p.150 for discussion of the choice of team names, and their affiliation in the late nineteenth century.
171. See, for example, C. Keane, Environment and Behavior ", pp. 28 - 29, for an overview of research on the effect of population size on perceptions of community.
172.

Blist's Hill	Cuckoo Oak	Aqueduct	High/Bridge St.
62	105	237	277

Total population of selected neighbourhoods

173. See J. Doody, Salopian Recorder, p. 7. In 1881 and 1891 the average family size at Blist's Hill was over 5. This seems quite conservative, as only ten years later Reynolds, R 34, notes that two houses were knocked into one,
to accommodate large families, and she recalls two families of 12, and others of 18, 13 and 10.
174. As shown in chapter five.
175. Also shown in chapter five.
176. See I.J. Brown, Industrial Archeology
177. See N. J. Clarke, Shropshire Newsletter.

178. The evidence comprises individuals living in different households, but with the the same, unusual, place of birth, or individuals living in different households, but with the same surname. Of 16 households, 8 have a probable connection with another :

- two households with the surname ' York ' - one headed by a widow, and the other a married son, all born in Madeley,
- two households with the surname ' Haynes ', the head of both born in Ironbridge,
- a widow, Mary Oliver, born in Much Wenlock in one household, and step children with the same surname in another household, in which the head of household was also born in Much Wenlock,
- two wives in different households, but close in age, and both born in Stockton.

179. 6 of 22 properties (27 %) were vacant at Blist's Hill, compared to 4 of 66 (6 %) at Aqueduct.

180. Fidler, 1, and Thorne, T 64.

181. Fidler, 1; Owen, T 47; Gittens, T 78; Wright, T 60; Lloyd, T 42; Wellington Journal, 7.3.1891.

182. Owen, T 47 and Fidler, 1. Arthur Lloyd, Shropshire Magazine, recalling Madeley Wood, within the parish, and adjacent to the research community, in the 1920's, says that " it was indeed a village community ", and that it was " largely independent of neighbouring Ironbridge ". Whilst this sense of belonging and independence may have developed after 1891, given the long mining history of the district, it seems more likely that this was present also at the research date.

183. Wellington Journal, 18.12; 17.1; 7.2.1891.

184. M. Evans, Childhood; Fidler, 1;Preece, T 18; Reynolds, R 34; Gittens T 78; Jenks, T 1.

185. Of nine allotment holders individually traced from the Bartlett Gardens Allotments Leases records, SRO 2280/Cha/1, and living within the community on the census records, four were miners, and five over the age of fifty.

186. Wellington Journal, 14.3.1891.

187. See Fidler, 1; Rogers, T 52 for references to poaching, and Wright, T 60 for an account of the market. Jenks, T 1/R 21, describes whippet keeping, pigeon flying and dabbing, or catching wild birds. A. Lloyd, op. cit., also refers to racing pigeons and whippets as a pastime particularly of miners in Madeley Wood in the 1920's, and the catching of songbirds, such as larks and linnets, as " quite a common practice on pit mounds ". For impromptu events : several hundred were skating on the River Severn on a Wednesday, for example, and it was reported a week later that hundreds were on the ice daily with lanterns. Another week later two thousand were on the river with bicycles and dancing to the Rifle Volunteers Band. Wellington Journal, 3.1; 10.1; 17.1.1891. In the summer, too, in addition to the sports, regattas, fairs and outings organised by associations described above, special trains were run to the coast, Llangollen and Liverpool for the general public every Saturday through August.

188. Newell (Thorne), T 64.

189. Fidler, 1; Newill, T 45.

190. M. Evans, Childhood.
191. Lloyd, T 54.
192. Wellington Journal, 11.4; 13.3.1891; Shrewsbury Chronicle, 10.4; 17.4.1891.
193. M. Evans, Childhood.
194. Wellington Journal, 3.1; 28.2.1891.
195. Wellington Journal, 21.3; 18.7; 29.8; 28.8.1891. Contexts included domestic incidents, between children, or related to washing in shared spaces.
196. Shrewsbury Chronicle, 28.8.1891; 25.9.1891; 18.12.1891.
197. M. Evans, Childhood; Wellington Journal, 18.7.1891; A. Lloyd, Shropshire Magazine.
198. 28 individuals prosecuted at the Quarter Sessions during 1891could be identified as living within the research community. Their offences were as follows :

assault	: 2
drunk and disorderly	: 10
throwing stones	: 1
abusive language	: 3
theft	: 6
poaching	: 1
non attendance at school	: 3
indecent exposure	: 1
setting off fireworks	: 1
bankruptcy	: 1

These were reported in the Shrewsbury Chronicle, 27.2; 13.3; 20.3; 10.4; 17.4; 3.7; 28.8; 25.9; 6.11; 27.11; 18.12.1891; and in The Wellington Journal, 3.1; 28.2; 14.3; 21.3; 11.4; 23.5; 4.7; 18.7; 8.8; 29.8; 26.9.1891.
196. J. Benson, British, p. 142.
197. J. Ensum, "Highley ", pp. 12 - 13.
198. Of just ten prosecutions for drunkenness against members of the research community, five were aged under thirty. There were almost as many agricultural labourers as miners found drunk, even though the latter comprised a far larger occupational group. Across the county as a whole, convictions for drunkenness were much reduced - from 192 the previous year, to 151 - Shrewsbury Chronicle, 28.8.1891.
199. The only two thefts reported over the year were of a goose, from a farmer, and of firewood from the railway company - Wellington Journal, 12.12; 21.11.1891. D. Philips, Crime and Authority, pp. 283 and 287, found that at least three quarters of indictable prosecutions in the West Midlands between 1835 and 1860 were for larceny, and that they were predominantly against the poor.
200. This conclusion is reached putting weighting upon the tone and content of press reports that dealt with occasions enjoyed by very large numbers in the community, over the autobiographical and court reports, that dealt with individual people or incidents.
201. The friendly societies were only open to men, and those who could afford the regular contributions.

202. This was a minimum figure - 270; some may not have been included in records or reports, and some could not be identified with confidence because their name was so common. The true percentage may therefore have been higher, but not significantly so. The sporting associations and friendly society meetings were not supported by women.
203. The activities supported by Hercules Thomas, the Wesleyan teacher, and Miss Johnson's Bible class at the parish church were successful, by all accounts, thanks largely to the characters of these individuals.

CONCLUSION

This thesis is both substantively and methodologically innovative. It adds to our understanding of late nineteenth-century mining communities as local social systems, shedding new light upon persistence, and upon kinship and social networks within such communities. It identifies the characteristics of the research community that contribute to its description as both loose-knit and close-knit. This level of understanding has been achieved by the development of an approach not previously attempted in either a sociological or historical context.

The thesis is innovative methodologically in that it adapts and develops the social network approach of sociologists, and moreover does so in a historical context. It points a way forward for community studies which have essentially progressed little from anthropologically derived descriptive and subjective approaches. Despite the widespread recognition of the value of using social networks as a basis for community studies, there has been little suggestion of the means by which this concept could be rigorously structured such that one community could be compared directly with another, even though the value of such comparisons has been well accepted.

The framework demonstrated in this research incorporates the key characteristics of communities as identified by sociologists - composition, structure and content of social networks, and it takes into account different levels of intensity of involvement - from ' spectators ' to ' organisers '. As a result the research community can be described as a relatively close-knit or a loose-knit local social system relatively precisely. The framework allows both positively and negatively perceived characteristics of the social system to be recognised as part and parcel of reality. The sterile discussion of whether a mythical state of ' community ' exists or not, is consequently avoided.

The rigour of the framework allows the relative sizes of social networks, their degree of overlap, and their content to be compared, and judgements on their relative significance within the local social system made with much more confidence than is possible using the more common descriptive approach. To take just one example, it has been shown in the research community that chapel records indicate that social opportunities, measured in terms of the number of meetings and groups, based upon those places of worship were numerous, which could reasonably lead to the conclusion that chapels were indeed the main focus of social life as indicated in the literature. However by tracing individuals in the community by name, and by directly comparing the composition of social networks, it has been shown that those based upon the Anglican church involved more members of the community.

Matching individuals named in the press and association records with the census data, rather than analysing data by whole populations, gives a level of detail that has made it possible to reach conclusions with a considerable degree of confidence. Again, impressionistic statements derived from autobiographies, or from isolated press reports or evidence given to committees, have been rigorously tested for their general applicability. Analysis on this ' microscale ' has also allowed something of the complexity of local social systems to be revealed. Thus variations by gender, occupation, age or place of birth, for example, have been demonstrated. Both persistence and kinship patterns have been analysed more comprehensively than previously in any late nineteenth-century community.

This approach has made it possible to place maximum value upon each individual's experience of social life in the community, making an inclusive approach closer to a reality than has previously been achieved in the context of mining communities as local social systems. The analysis is neither skewed towards the more widely

available data referring to men, nor towards a feminist approach. It includes women and children on an equal basis, even when less data can be found. It includes women who are not in full time paid employment, servants and lodgers - all frequently excluded from statistical analyses relating to late-nineteenth century mining communities. And consideration is given to temporary absentees from the community, such as domestic servants, children living with relatives elsewhere, and fathers searching for work, also given little attention in the literature.

Whilst the first aim of this research has been to develop an appropriate methodology, the second has been to examine the extent to which the community could be described as having been loose-knit, or close-knit, each apparently contradictory stereotypes applied to mining communities. The key characteristics of the social structure of the research community in 1891 are identified in relation to persistence, and to the composition, structure and the content of kinship and social networks. These will now be summarised, followed by a discussion of the extent to which they indicate that the research community was loose-knit or close-knit, and finally the ways in which the research relates to the previous literature on late nineteenth-century mining communities.

The analysis of persistence shows that most individuals had lived within the community for less than ten years, so that the norm was for day to day friends and acquaintances to change frequently. It appears, therefore, that community members did not generally have long periods of time over which to develop and strengthen social networks, contrary to the stereotype of the traditional working class community. By matching individuals' place of birth and persistence it has been possible to demonstrate that an even lower proportion of the community - around a sixth - could have been born and brought up in the community, also said to have been characteristic of close-knit communities. Since children over the age of ten

were included in the analysis, this low proportion is even more surprising, and apparently demonstrates the lack of social stability within the community.

However, the reality was not quite so simple or straightforward. Close to a half of community members had been born in the parish, so it is clear that many could have maintained looser long term social links with each other, over a slightly wider area. The analysis also shows significant variation by occupation, gender and age. The occupational groups most persistent over ten years were miners, those employed in manufacturing, and women not in full time paid employment. This is consistent with the comparison made between the persistence of mining and non mining families in Lower Gornal in 1891. Clearly this a pattern that would be expected in a well established coalfield, by comparison to a newly established one, experiencing net immigration. Similarly children and adults with working children had more opportunities to strengthen their social networks over time, than did community members at other stages of their lives. The most mobile members of the community - the least persistent, and therefore potentially more likely to suffer comparative social exclusion, were professionals, labourers, domestic servants and both male and female young adults. Again, this is not a surprising pattern given the nature of their employment, but not one identified as a characteristic of a late nineteenth-century mining community, and one that could have been fundamental to perceptions of the local social system by different sections of the community.

Superficially the statistics indicate the importance of kinship networks within the community, but again a more detailed analysis reveals a much more complex picture. Nine tenths of community members lived with kin - a proportion comparable to mining households in other well established mining communities in 1891, but higher than the more recently established community of Highley, where a higher proportion of individuals had migrated to the community over the previous ten years without kin in search of new job opportunities. But looking more closely,

again there were significant variations by occupation. The occupational groups that were the most persistent were also those most likely to have been living with kin, increasing the probability that their experience of the community as a social system was one that was comparatively close-knit. Those least likely to have been living with kin, and therefore at most at risk of social isolation were servants and those employed in dealing - most often widows. The latter were a section of the community given little attention in the literature, but whose existence and social experiences can be highlighted by a more detailed analysis.

Turning to the structure of kinship networks, it has been possible to show that for up to a half of community members kinship and neighbourhood networks overlapped - a characteristic often claimed for ' traditional ' working class communities, but little tested statistically. Compared to other late nineteenth-century mining communities, there was a relatively high proportion of three generation households in the research community. It could be suggested that a well established mining community might be characterised by high levels of persistence, and a relatively high proportion of more elderly kin, with whom adult children and grandchildren could share a home. Again the reality is much more complex, and there appears to have been a variety of circumstances leading to this pattern. The elderly were the least likely in the community to have been born in the parish, and were no more likely than any other age group to have been persistent over ten years. The data indicate that many of the older members of the community migrated there at a time of relative prosperity in the coal and iron trade, about twenty years prior to the research date. And the reasons for three generations sharing a home appear to have been less likely to have been to economise by so-doing than for other reasons. Rather, the problem appears to have been the reverse - households that were too large, so that children were often brought up by grandparents in separate households. It was also much more common for widows than for widowers to live with a married child, and his or her family. The reason

for this appears to have been a combination of the fact that it was more difficult for a widow to maintain herself (although many did), and the fact that widows had more of the skills needed to look after a large household. The analysis also shows that parents looked after daughters with illegitimate children, often temporarily, until a marriage was arranged. It is therefore too simplistic to suggest that three generation household units may be characteristic of well established late-nineteenth century communities - many other variables need to be taken into account. Since the percentage of three generation households was relatively high, it is not surprising that the percentage of extended family households was relatively low. Clearly where the size of families was large, it was less probable that aunts and uncles would bring up nieces or nephews than would grandparents. Further, there is evidence that adult siblings shared households more often in newly established mining communities, providing a base for new migrants.

The analysis of the structure of kinship networks also reveals significant evidence of marginalisation within the community. Over 7 % of all community members lived without kin, either alone, as servants or lodgers, and over 7 % of household units were of lone individuals. The latter were more likely than the heads of other households to have been born outside the area, and as mentioned above, many were widows, so again, one cause of social isolation appears to have reinforced another. Added to these groups present in the community were those absent, primarily girls working as domestic servants, boys living with relatives elsewhere, and mostly men looking for work outside the community - again, not previously examined statistically. The evidence indicates that paradoxically, and in contrast to the emphasis placed upon the centrality of women in the social networks of 'traditional' communities, women were potentially the *most* marginalised in the community, living alone as widows, working as domestic servants, either without coresident kin in the community, or absent from it. Furthermore the evidence shows that it was less likely that married women lived near her parents than did

married men live near his, and where newly married couples lived with parents, it was much more likely to have been with the husband's than with the wives. It therefore appears that women were *less* likely to receive coresidential support from kin, and were *less* likely to have been able to maintain the strong links with their mothers, cited as characteristic of traditional close-knit communities. But this evidence also suggests that the bond between father and son could have been more easily maintained - a point not addressed previously in relation to late nineteenth-century mining communities.

New detail is revealed on the content of kinship networks, and the extent to which kin helped each other. It is shown that grandparents played a major role in helping to bring up grandchildren, that women as well as men found work for kin, which occurred much more frequently outside the occupation of mining, that parents did support daughters with illegitimate children, and that adults who were single, widowed, or without a spouse often lived with adult kin in the same situation. Children provided much support within the household, looking after siblings, or fetching and carrying. The research breaks new ground by demonstrating the extent to which the elderly continued to support their families into old age, rather than the reverse, by demonstrating the extent to which women, as well as men, helped to find work for relatives, and by giving the contribution of children due recognition. It most significantly demonstrates the variety of ways in which kinship networks operated, and the relative importance of each. It clearly shows which sections of the community potentially received the most support from kin, and which the least. And for most members of the community kin appear to have contributed to a perception of networks as being close-knit, rather than the reverse.

The analysis of the composition of social networks indicates a high degree of willingness to participate socially at every level, from ' spectators ', to 'participants',

to ' organisers '. The largest social networks were those of activities that were the most inclusive. However only a minority were able to participate actively in associations, and only a fifth of those who could, did so. So it would be misleading, and a great exaggeration to suggest that associational life was at the core of social networks in the community, as has been described in other late nineteenth-century mining communities. Nevertheless, a third of all participants in the activities of associations did also help to organise them, indicating a high level of commitment for those who were able to participate. The research also shows that social participation in friendly societies was likely to have been more important numerically than was participation in either church or chapel based associations, or sporting associations, even though women were almost entirely excluded, - a characteristic hitherto unidentified in other late nineteenth-century mining communities. Most women, children, labourers and ironworkers were effectively excluded from most formal social networks, again not clearly established in other equivalent communities. To date, the level of participation in late nineteenth-century community associations has been descriptive and impressionistic. This research shows more accurately the extent to which community members were socially active at any level, in different kinds of association.

The analysis of the structure of social networks indicates that they were not 'dense', showing a high degree of overlap, as would be anticipated in a close-knit community. The evidence indicates that just a half of those who did actively participate in associations (who were themselves a minority of the community) there was no overlap of social networks with other associations. There was least overlap for those with church or chapel based networks, and most for those with sport centred networks. This finding taken at face value could be interpreted as support for the assertions in the literature of a social divide between those committed to religious worship, and those supporting other associations. However looking more closely, it appears that this was not usually the result of a lack of

desire between the two groups to mix socially, but due to a lack of the opportunity for women and children taking part in church or chapel based activities to join other associations. The effect may have been socially divisive, but it is significant that the cause was apparently not the result of mutually negative perceptions. Church and chapel based associations were in effect divisive in other ways also - first by the number and range of different denominations present, each attracting different portions of the community, and within families, in that women, men and children participated in different activities from each other, just at one place of worship. Despite their inclusivity and openness, then, there was at the same time social division - in effect, if not by design, or by omission rather than commission. Nevertheless, there is evidence of overlap between neighbourhood and friendly society, football and church or chapel based networks, and of overlap between kinship and football networks, as well as of a high degree of co-operation between associations, especially at places of worship, and the impression is given of harmonious relationships between associations.

Furthermore, the research identified a significant number and proportion of individuals who helped to organise associational life in the community, representing a quarter of all those identified as participants. There is no evidence of exclusion by age or occupation. This characteristic supports the view of the community as close-knit, and as being like the gemeinschaftlich community in which a significant proportion of members actively sought to build community associations, or was a Communitarian society in which a significant proportion of members took responsibility for developing a ' sense of community ' through associational life. It is only by tracking individuals that it has it been possible to show the minimum number of members of the community who did so, and who they were.

The analysis of the content of social networks shows that overall community members placed a high value upon social links - local social events were supported by thousands, the best supported events were those in which there was most opportunity to strengthen social links, and scarce time and money resources were invested in social occasions. Descriptions of social events indicate that although there was rivalry, there was a great sense of enjoyment; although there were arguments, there were many more acts of kindness; and although the community was not free of crime, there was hardly any crime against the person, and little drunkenness. The identification of the content of social networks in the research has ensured that this sense of community, and attitudes towards social relationships have been given particular attention, so important to understanding the reality of a community as a local social system, and so easily sidelined in favour of the mechanics of simply ' what happened ', or ' which associations existed '. The rigour and detail of the research also reveals the relative importance of the different foci for the development of social networks, their relationship to each other, and their importance for different sections of the community, not shown so comprehensively, with such detail and with such confidence for mining communities to date.

The analysis also demonstrates that the research community was a complex local social system that showed characteristics of both loose-knit, and close-knit communities. On the one hand, it could be described as close-knit in that a relatively high proportion of the population were born locally, and may have known each other over a long period, if not continuously. Nearly everyone in the community had kin to turn to, either within the household, or, for a high proportion, within the neighbourhood, and for a high proportion of community members there were also strong links between grandparents and grandchildren. Furthermore, members of the community readily took opportunities to take part in social occasions, and to come together socially with others, and there was a great

deal of willingness to take part in, and to help to organise, associations. The data show that there was a high degree of openness in associations, without direct exclusion by occupation or place of birth, and there was frequent co-operation between associational groups. There was a low incidence of crime, particularly against the person, and there was evidence of altruistic mutual aid. The high level of mutual responsibility found in kinship and associational networks show that this late Victorian community was, indeed, a Communitarian community in many respects. And it has not been possible previously to point in such detail, and with such accuracy, to the ways in which, and the extent to which, a nineteenth-century community could be justifiable described as close-knit.

On the other hand, the research community could be described as loose-knit in that three quarters of community members had moved into the community within the previous ten years - there was therefore a lack of social stability. Compared to other late nineteenth-century mining communities, a high proportion of community members did not live with kin, with particular evidence of lack of close kinship support for women, and those born outside the parish. A significant proportion of women (working as domestic servants, or on marriage), boys (living with grandparents) and men (working elsewhere) were separated from close family members, fragmenting kinship networks. Only a minority of community members took an active part in community associations, and the poor, and those working the longest hours, were effectively excluded from participation, as were women from most. Less than half of those participating in community associations were involved in more than one, curbing the extent to which social networks could be extended or strengthened. Furthermore there was evidence of social segregation between those active in church or chapel, and those active in other community associations, as well as between those attending different churches or chapels, or different sporting or non-sporting clubs. And finally, there was some evidence of theft, fighting and threats between neighbours, and a lack of mutual support.

Again, the framework and approach provide new detail and precision in the ways, and extent to which a nineteenth century community was loose-knit.

The new perspectives and detail provided by the research confirm that it may be too simplistic to describe a community as either loose-knit or close-knit. More accurate and meaningful are the data relating to each characteristic of the local social system. However, since these terms are frequently used in relation to community studies, especially of mining communities, the framework provides a practical means by which the terms can be more clearly and precisely understood. Taking into account both the statistical data, and the tone and content of available observational data, the research community could be placed as having more characteristics in common with close-knit than loose-knit communities, on a continuum between the two.

The evidence presented in the thesis challenges existing stereotypes of well established late nineteenth-century mining communities, and adds many new perspectives to the present literature. It provides the first analysis of the social structure of a nineteenth-century mining community, and a benchmark against which further such analyses can be measured, for any community for which census data are available. This research has contributed to the process of building a broad understanding of late nineteenth-century mining communities in particular as local social systems, and to the field of community studies within both historical and sociological disciplines.

Appendix One - Classification of Occupations

(i) The Classification of Occupational Data in the Census

1851 system

Classes include :
1 - 4 : Professional Groups
5 : Household Duties (wives, children)
6 : Boarding, Lodging, Domestic service, Dressmaking
7 : Commercial Pursuits
8 : Conveyance
9 : Agriculture
10 : Breeding, Animal Tending, Fishing
11 : Manufacturing
12 : Dealers and Workers in Animal Substances
13 : " " " " Plant "
14 : Mineral Workers
15 : Unskilled, Unspecified Labourers
16 : People of Rank, Property, Independant Means
17 : Residual (e.g. Paupers) (1)

1951 system

I Professional
II Intermediate
III Skilled
IV Partly skilled
V Unskilled (1)

(ii) Booth's Industrial Classification

Agriculture
Fishing
Mining
Building
Manufacture
Transport
Dealing
Industrial Service
Public Service and Professional
Domestic Service
Others - not in employment

(iii) Occupations as specified according to Booth's Classification, as they relate to the research community

AGRICULTURE	AG1	Agricultural Labourers, Gardeners,Woodmen, (Gamekeeper, Cowman)
MINING	M1	Mining - including Chartermaster, Coal Miner, Iron Miner, Manager, Receiver or Clerk at Coal Mine Contractor, Miner, Mining Company Secretary, (Colliery Proprietor)
Mines,	M2	Quarrying
	M3	Brickmaking (Cement Maker)
BUILDING	B1	Management
	B2	Operative, (Painter, Mortar man, Grate and Range Fitter)
	B3	Roadmaking
MANUFACTURE	MF1	Machinery - including Boiler Maker, Engine and Machine Maker, (Engine Fitter)
	MF4	Iron and Steel - including Blacksmith, Iron Manufacturer, Moulder, Grate or Range
Maker		
	MF7	Earthenware - including Enameller, Painter, (Figure Modeller, China Artists)
	MF13	Wood, Sawyers
	MF23	Dressmaking, Shoemaking, Tailor
	MF25	Food - including Corn Miller
	MF26	Baker
	MF27	Drink - including Maltster, Brewer
	MF31	Unspecified - including Engine Driver, Machinist, (Engineer's Clerk, Stationary Engine Driver,
Engine		Turner)
TRANSPORT	T1	Warehouses - including Porter, Wharfinger, Warehouseman
	T3	Inland Navigation
	T4	Railways - including Clerk, Engine Driver, Stoker, Agent, Porter, (Platelayer)
	T5	Roads, (Waggoner, Horse Driver, Donkey Driver)
DEALING	D1	Coals - including Coal Labourer, Heaver, Coal Merchant, Coal Dealer, Coal Contractor
	D5	Food - including Grocers
	D7	Publican, Beerseller, (Barmaid)
	D8	Lodgings
	D12	General Dealers, Hawkers, (Scrap Iron Dealer)
	D13	Unspecified, (Toyshop Keeper)

INDUSTRIAL SERVICE	IS1	Banking, Insurance, Accountancy, (Draughtsman, Clerk)
	IS2	General Labourers
PUBLIC SERVICE	PP1	Post Office, (Correspondance Clerk, Errand Boy, Inland Revenue)
	PP4	Army
	PP6	Police
	PP7	Law
	PP8	Medicine
	PP9	Art
	PP10	Music
	PP13	Teachers
	PP14	Religion
DOMESTIC SERVICE	DS1	Indoor, (Housekeeper)
	DS2	Outdoor
	DS3	Cooks, Char Women, Hair Dressers, (Porter, Iron Grinder, Brass Polisher)
PROPERTY OWNING	PO	
INDEFINITE	I	Including Paupers (1)

Note : Since individuals were free to name their occupation as they saw fit, many possible terms are used in the census, all of which could not have been anticipated or identified by Booth. Those entered within brackets were not included in Booth's description of occupational groups, but appear in the research community census entries. They were allocated to the closest appropriate category.

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1. M. Armstrong, " The Use of Information about Occupation ", in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), Nineteenth-Century Society, 1972.

Appendix Two - Calculating Persistence over Ten Years

(i) Procedure

1. The full names of all individuals aged 10 and over in 1891 were entered on a computer database, along with the number of the Enumeration District in which they lived, their exact age, and the place of birth and occupational category into which they fitted, as well as the page number of the census (See Appendix One). These criteria were chosen as they were found to be the most critical in enabling a positive match with individuals in the 1881 census. It was necessary to categorise place of birth and occupation for future analysis, but as page numbers were recorded, it was straightforward to check exact details if necessary.

2. The database was resorted into alphabetical order, and printed out, so that individuals could be matched against the microfiche record in SRRC for the 1881 census. Using this method it was possible to have a relatively large database - of nearly 3,000 entries.

3. The parish marriage records for the years 1881 to 1891 were copied, and where individuals entered also appeared on the 1891 census, the maiden name of the wife was noted on the printout, so that she could be matched if she appeared on the 1881 census record. 154 marriages were recorded in Madeley parish over this period, from which 28 women were traced in the 1891 census living in the community (18.18 %).

4. Consulting the 1881 census, where whole names matched (allowing slight differences in spelling), and either the age (8-12 years younger in 1881) or place of birth category, then the individual, Enumeration District of residence, exact age and place of birth were noted, along with names of coresident family members. If the name was common, and the matches not exact, occupation and coresident kin with a different surname were also noted.

5. In cases where matches were not exact, but close, the original computer database was referred to. The most useful criteria for establishing matches with confidence were coresident kin, and exact place of birth (if outside Madeley). Further confirmation could be found by occupation, although of course this could have changed. However where this was stated very specifically, or was relatively unusual, it could be used with confidence (for example licenced victualler at a named public house, or accountant).

(ii) Comment

1. It was surprising how large a proportion of individuals could be matched with a good degree of confidence. Only a handful of those of which initially unsure, could not then be matched using a number of criteria.

2. Essential to this success was flexibility in using a number of criteria together to establish matches, but not always the same criteria. For example, in some cases an

unusual place of birth established a match, even though the age was not exactly ten years older, but in others the match may have relied upon a match of other coresident kin.

3. The criterion most frequently establishing links beyond doubt was that of matching coresident kin, although it was unusual for the whole household to remain unchanged.

4. It was important not to exclude individuals solely on the basis of a lack of correspondence of age. 514 of those identified as persisting did not have an exact 10 year difference of age, and of these, 204 (39.68 %) were inaccurate by two years or more. The latter were therefore errors, as a one year difference could be explained by the relative time of year of birth, and the census. 25 of these had errors of +/- 5 years, and 9 of over 10 years. A few of these could be errors by the enumerator, but clearly some people had little idea of their own age, or of the ages of others in their household. Even an accountant's (Arthur Onions') age was 2 years in error! Because of the margin of difference, these individuals were checked particularly carefully, and matched exactly in every other respect, so the researcher is very confident of the conclusions. Clearly if rigid, but arbitrary, margins of error had been adhered to, a significant number of individuals would have been assumed to have left the community erroneously. This level of error of declared age is comparable to that found by Anderson in the 1861 census, in which 47% of individuals were not exactly ten years older than they ewere in 1851, which demonstrates that an exact match of age should not be required in calculating persistence. (1)

5. The most difficult to match with confidence were those not living with kin, so that this factor could not be used in corroboration. This category included domestic servants (usually young girls), lodgers (usually young men), widows or widowers, or older men who had remarried, living with a wife not traceable to 1881, and no other matching kin. Of 160 individuals in the community in 1891 queried with an uncertain match to individuals in 1881, over half (91) were male. It is therefore they, rather than married women, who were the most likely to have been excluded from analysis, and marginalised in the historical record, even though some women who were not married at Madeley Parish Church may have been excluded.

6. The figure of 28 women married in the parish between 1881 and 1891 and traced in the community in 1891 appears a comparatively high figure, given that the community comprises only about half of the parish, and those married in Madeley may have subsequently either not lived in the research community, or have moved away by 1891. 13 of the women traced gave Madeley as their place of residence at the time of marriage, and 4 were also found to have lived within the community in 1881. This rate of persistence is higher than that for the adult population as a whole, indicating that this attempt to trace women from one census to the next was relatively successful. Those traced also represents a very small proportion of the total number of women in the community (about 0.25%), also indicating that the 'difficulty' of tracing women from one census to the next is unlikely to have a major impact upon overall persistence figures for women.

7. Using a number of criteria together, not excluding individuals due to a lack of exact match of age, including the whole population, and checking against marriage records to trace maiden names, produces a far more accurate measure of persistence than, for example, comparing only male heads of household, possibly also extracted by sampling. Dennis claims that the use of male heads of household was necessary so that " undue weight " should not be given to large families, and appears to assume that male heads of household are the principal decision makers, thus controlling mobility in nineteenth-century Huddersfield. If all members of the community are assumed to have equal ' weight ' in research on social networks, Dennis' approach would give ' undue weight ' to male heads of household, devaluing other heads of household, lodgers, wives, coreseident parents and children. He also points to the difficulty of tracing women who have married and changed their name during the ten year interval. (2) It has been shown above that the proportion of such women in a population was small, and that it was possible to trace many.

Such an approach ignores the importance of the independent mobility of nuclear family members out of the household for work or marriage, or the movement of boarders and lodgers, excludes consideration of the movement of children to live with relatives other than their parents, accords widowers living alone with an importance greater than that of widows, and relies upon an assumption about decision making within households that has little, if any, evidence to support it.

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1. M. Anderson, in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), The Study of Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Society, p. 75.
2. R. Dennis, Transactions, p. 352.

Appendix Three - Analysing Family Mobility

(i) Procedure

1. By recording the number of moves that each household with children appears to have made according to the places of birth of the children, it is possible to identify the proportion of households that appear never to have moved from the parish since the birth of the first children (where all children's places of birth are given as Madeley). For those who had moved, the difference between the ages of children born in different parishes indicates a minimum frequency of moves. The data can be broken down further, to identify patterns according to the occupation of head of household (showing, for example, whether households with miners as head moved more, or less, than other households). Thus although these calculations do not give absolute time values, the data are important from the point of view of social relationships within the community because they give a more precise indication of continuity than that derived from persistence over ten years.

2. It is also possible to derive both the minimum, and maximum, lengths of time that a household had appeared to live continuously in the parish. The age of the eldest child to have been born in Madeley, with no younger children in the household born elsewhere provides the former, whereas the ages of older children born outside the parish provide the latter. These figures that can give an indication of persistence between censuses, or between the ten year time span, and a lifetime, as indicated by the place of birth data.

3. By considering the place of birth of children born outside Madeley, it is possible to gain further information on the range of movement, or ' path of migration '. From these data it is possible to consider the extent to which members of a household could have, for example, maintained some social links developed in neighbouring parishes, or may have maintained social links within the community with other households who had also lived further afield. In this research the data will be limited to the place of birth of a child the furthest distant from Madeley of all those in the household.

(ii) Comment

(a) Limitations of the approach :

1. It is only possible to include nuclear household units, excluding households containing stepchildren, or without children, and single lodgers or servants. Where the head of household has not declared that some children in that household are step children, there may be some inaccuracy, but this is not likely in many cases.

2. Some of the data is indicative, rather than conclusive, in that it is only possible to give minimum and maximum values for length of residence in Madeley, and only moves outside the parish shown by the birth of a child can be used to analyse the range of migration.

3. The data are incomplete, as they relate to households within which children are yet to be born, or some of whom have left. They are strongly affected by the ages of the parents, and the stage of lifecycle of the households.

(b) Advantages of the approach :

1. It can provide persistence data at time intervals less than 10 years, or between a fixed 10 years and a lifetime.

2. It can provide an indication of the minimum frequency of moves.

3. It can provide a minimum geographical range of moves.

4. The data can be analysed by occupational group of head of household, or of those in full time paid employment.

5. The data provide a useful focus upon factors affecting the social networks of children, in particular.

6. These data are not available for such a large portion of the community elsewhere, and are comparable from one community to another at ten yearly intervals throughout the second half of nineteenth century.

Appendix Four - Madeley National School Records

The school records are available from 1884, and appear to record every boy who attended. The information provided below identifies the precise data that are available, matching these to the inferences that can be drawn relevant to this research.

1. The date of admission, full name and date of birth of pupils allows individuals to be positively matched with the census, so that persistence data for the children's families can be corroborated or otherwise .

2. For most entries the date of leaving is given, which clarifies whether boys were attending in 1891.

3. Dates of obtaining qualifications also clarify whether the child was attending the school in 1891, even if no leaving date has been entered.

All of the above give the length of time that the boys spent together at school, and the extent to which they remained in the parish after leaving school.

4. The name of the child's previous school reveals the extent to which the boys had also spent the infant years together.

5. For some years, the qualifications of the boys on arrival is given, and the father's name, and home address. This indicates the distance that children walked to school, and the extent to which changes of school within the parish reflected intraparish, and intracommunity moves of household.

Further analysis of the data relating to the school of origin of boys attending the National School. 1884 - 1891

It might be concluded that if these different schools of origin reflect moves of household, the data imply that over a seven year period, at least 10 % of the population are likely to have moved within this community, as defined, or the parish, supporting Dennis' conclusion that very local moves were commonplace. However, examining the data relating to all children admitted from 1884 to 1891, having previously attended Lloyds, Jackfield, Kemberton or Stirchley schools - the main local schools which pupils had previously attended, it appears that in the case of the first three, a high proportion were admitted to the National School over the age of eight, having already achieved relatively high stages of attainment, who left school over the age of twelve, and most of whom were still living in the community in 1891 (with the exception of Lloyds, where most probably lived in Coalport, outside the community borders.) This evidence, then, suggests that the pupils may have come to the National School to be prepared for higher level tests, and not because their families had moved within the parish.

Further support for this conclusion can be gained from those years where place of residence is also recorded in the admissions data (1881 - 1883). Here it can be seen that not only did pupils from Aqueduct, in the north, attend the Infants' school in

central Madeley, as well as the National School subsequently, but that children from Lloyds and Coalport, who had previously attended the Lloyds School, also walked to central Madeley to the National School. In addition, pupils from across the River Severn, at Jackfield, travelled across the river on the ferry, before walking up the sides of the valley to go to school in central Madeley. It is therefore clear that a change of school was more likely to be associated with educational opportunities, than to family moves, and that no conclusions can be drawn on local moves. In the case of Stirchley, the evidence is less clear-cut, in that entrants have not already achieved such high levels. However, two thirds were admitted after the age of eight, but only two left before the age of 11, with two thirds still living in the community in 1891, so it seems that some may have come to the National School to improve on their grades, but some may have moved locally with their families, and stayed.

Of the few who were attending the school in 1891, had previously attended an outlying school, and could be traced on the 1891 census, this picture is confirmed. Five children who had first attended Stirchley School, and still attended Madeley National School in 1891, lived in Aqueduct. Three of these boys had achieved grade III or above before they changed schools. Both schools could be reached almost as easily from Aqueduct, and it seems probable that the data reflects a change of school, but not a change of address. Similarly, the two boys who could be traced and had previously attended Kemberton School were found to live on the road that leads from Madeley towards Kemberton, so the two could have easily walked to wither school. The two boys were brothers, and the elder boy had already achieved grade III at his first school, before both changed schools.

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FIGM1 C17 and C31 Mr. Bagley 1

RS Clifford Ball T1

C4 Mr. J. Pitchford T10

R34 Doris Reynolds

R15 Frank Turner T42

R39 Nellie Wright T60

FIGM2 C24 Mrs. Adams tape K25B

Fred Fidler 1

Fred Fidler 2

FIGM3 Mr. R. George

C8B Mr. R. Heighway T13

C7 Arthur Lewis T5 and T6

C15B Mrs. Lewis T12

R15 - 18 Mr. F. Lloyd T34 and T42

FIGM4 R51 Joe Philpot T58

C13 Mrs. Preece T18

R24 - 25 Mr. E. Rogers E52

R58 Mrs. Amy Thorne T64

R32 Albert Owen T47

Fred Briscoe T72

Moses Evans T2 and T3

Joseph Gittens T78

William Gregory T75

Charles Baxter Hoggins T52

George Jenks T1/R21

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